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Tel Aviv	4:19 p.m.	5:17 p.m.
Haifa	4:09 p.m.	5:14 p.m.

THE JERUSALEM POST

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Officials still firm against devaluation

By AVI TEMKIN
The Treasury and the Bank of Israel continue to be opposed to devaluation of the shekel in the coming months.

The heads of the two leading economic policy-making institutions have faced the solution to the problems faced by exporters should be effected by introducing major changes in the cost-of-living allowance arrangements. Such changes would allow an erosion in real gross wages in those industries which have been badly affected by the fall in the value of the dollar.

Officials at both the central bank and the Finance Ministry said yesterday they believe a devaluation would not solve the economy's major problems, and could trigger a higher rate of inflation. They did not rule out a new package deal with the

Histadrut and the private employers, but one that would not include changes in the shekel exchange rate. They said such a package deal, coupled with a sufficiently low budget deficit, would bring the inflation rate down to 8 to 10 per cent during 1988.

Even those economists who claim that eventually the Treasury will be unable to avoid devaluing the shekel, said the devaluation would be a nominal one, and its inflationary effects would be offset by a reduction in import duties. (See page 5)

Meanwhile the Bank of Israel yesterday set the rate of exchange of the shekel against the currency basket at NIS1.7095, the highest since January 13 devaluation, and 1.2 per cent higher than last week's rate. The Bank still insists this represents only a minor fluctuation, in line with

its determination to maintain a stable rate of exchange.

According to the opponents of any change in the rate of exchange in the near future a possible package deal should include the following points.

The C-o-L allowance arrangement would be changed as to reduce the extent of the linkage of wages to prices. According to one proposal the rate of compensation for price increases would be 70 per cent, as it is today, but paid only if prices go up by 7 per cent or more in one single month. The longer it takes for inflation to accumulate to the 7 per cent mark, the smaller will be the compensation rate. Thus, if it takes several months for the Consumer Price Index to rise by 7 per cent, the C-o-L allowance rate would be only 40

Israel upset by UK veto of EC accord

By BENNY MORRIS
Post Diplomatic Correspondent
The Foreign Ministry yesterday called in the British charge d'affaires Simon Fuller and protested about London's continuing veto of a new agreement between Israel and the European Community.

Jerusalem believes that Britain's refusal to sign the "supplementary protocol" — which will regulate Israeli-Western European trade in the wake of Spain and Portugal's entry into the EC — is linked to Israel's stand on agricultural exports from the West Bank and Gaza to Western Europe. Foreign Ministry officials yesterday told Fuller that Israel regards such a linkage as illegitimate.

Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, Prime Minister Itzhak Shamir and EC Commissioner Claude Cheysson last month reached an "agreement in principle" on the problem of agricultural exports from the territories, an agreement involving the re-labelling of the products and the manner of their export and distribution via Agrexco.

Meanwhile Israeli officials apparently hinted to several Western European ambassadors here that Israel does not intend to abide by the agreement and will violate its provisions. The ambassadors informed their foreign ministries of this and Britain last Wednesday, at a meeting of the EC's Council in Brussels, took the lead in objecting to the conclusion of the "supplementary protocol."

Officially, Britain based its stand

Sadat visit anniversary passes quietly in Cairo

Mubarak, Hussein build on gains of Amman summit

By ELAINE RUTH FLETCHER
Jerusalem Post Reporter
President Hosni Mubarak and King Hussein met yesterday for a day of talks in Amman to consolidate the gains made by Egypt and Arab moderates during last week's Arab summit.

"Thank God. I think we have overcome the twists and turns ... and are at a new starting point — one nation to confront the threats and dangers," Hussein said of the Arab League meeting, in remarks to reporters before Mubarak flew back to Egypt last night.



HUSSEIN AT THE WHEEL: The Jordanian king takes Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak for a tour of Amman yesterday. (Reuters)

Mubarak and Hussein discussed the summit results, which paved the way for nine Arab states to restore relations with Cairo, as well as UN efforts to end the Iran-Iraq war and prospects for convening a Middle East peace conference, said Jordan's news agency Petra.

While Mubarak spent the day in Amman, the tenth anniversary of President Sadat's trip to Jerusalem passed quietly in Cairo with local radio and television largely ignoring the historic occasion.

"There is no mood," said one Cairo newspaper editor, Abd al-Sattar al-Tawila in a telephone interview with *The Jerusalem Post* on

Egyptian reaction to the anniversary of the Sadat visit.

"There is no discussion or talk about it. No ceremonies. It is finished," said the left-wing editor, who supported Sadat's peace initiative but has since criticized Israel for not coming to grips with the Palestinian problem.

Only in indirect ways, was the memory of Sadat recalled in Cairo. A prominently displayed article in the pro-government newspaper *Al-Ahram* gave positive coverage to the Atlanta conference on the Middle East sponsored by former president Jimmy Carter, who helped transform Sadat's 1977 peace initiative into the 1979 treaty with Israel. For

Congress seeks tighter rein on covert affairs

WASHINGTON (AP)— The U.S. Congress seems determined to tighten control over the government's covert intelligence operations after concluding that a secret White House cabal took power into its own hands in the Iran-Contra affair.

But lawmakers concede it will be up to special prosecutor Lawrence Walsh to provide some elusive final answers in the scandal.

Sponsors of legislation to put a tighter rein on the CIA said the Iran-Contra report issued Wednesday gives a big boost to their efforts. They predicted that some changes will be made.

Congress is likely to act next year

to force the president to give it quicker, more thorough notification of secret operations, and may establish an independent inspector general at the CIA, said Republican Senator William Cohen, a member of both the Senate investigating panel and the Senate intelligence committee.

The administration is likely to fight such initiatives.

"I think the report's chief value will be as a deterrent," said Congressman Lee Hamilton, an opposition Democrat and chairman of the House panel. "I think it's going to be a long time before a national

security adviser will say, 'the buck stops with me.'"

Hamilton was referring to the testimony of former national security adviser John Poindexter, who told investigators that he alone had authorized the diversion of profits from Iran arms sales to help Nicaragua's Contra rebels. Poindexter also insisted he had not told Reagan.

The report was harsh in its judgment of Reagan and his top aides, saying the president failed in his constitutional duty to uphold the law and that he contributed to the deception of the American people about his secret policies.

Weizman disagrees with Awad expulsion order

By JOEL GREENBERG and JOSHUA BRILLIANT
Jerusalem Post Reporters
Minister without portfolio Ezer Weizman said yesterday he disagreed with an official decision to expel Palestinian-American political activist Mubarak Awad from Israel and hoped the ruling would be cancelled.

"I would not have done it but I wasn't asked because it was not a decision taken by the government as a whole," Weizman said.

"I hope the decision will be changed," he told newsmen. Weizman was speaking on the 10th anniversary of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat's first visit to Jerusalem.

"I don't think the decision added to the good spirit of the anniversary," he said, but added he did not know all the facts in the case.

Awad, defying an order to leave the country today, plans to visit a mosque, synagogue and church over the weekend and surround himself with a human wall of supporters in a bid to fend off security forces who may come to deport him.

"We've already bought handcuffs," said Awad, who hopes police will find it impossible to arrest him while he is manacled to dozens of people. "We've had visits from many people, including school children, who have said, we will protect

Police deny charge of not aiding FBI

Jerusalem Post Reporter
Charges that Israeli officials are refusing to cooperate with an FBI investigation of Jewish extremists suspected of carrying out a series of bombings in the U.S., were denied by police last night.

"The accusation is completely groundless," said a spokesman at National Police Headquarters in Jerusalem. "We have a long tradition of cooperation and exchange of information with the FBI, and this often exceeds even the normal levels of cooperation between friendly law enforcement agencies."

Police sources said they were surprised and puzzled by the charges published in two American newspapers — *The Washington Post* and *The Village Voice* — yesterday.

'JUDAISM CAN ONLY FIND FULFILMENT IN CHRISTIANITY'

Cardinal's words seen as blow to dialogue

By HAIM SHAPIRO
Jerusalem Post Reporter
The rocky road of Jewish-Catholic dialogue seemed to founder on yet another boulder this week as Jewish leaders reacted with anger and disappointment to a statement by a prominent cardinal that Judaism can only find fulfilment in Christianity.

Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger, the Vatican's monitor of theological orthodoxy, had been quoted as saying in regard to Jewish-Catholic dialogue that "the pope has offered respect, but also has a theological line. This always implies our union with the faith of Abraham, but also the reality of Jesus Christ, in which the faith of Abraham finds its fulfilment."

His statement seemed to bring back to square one the entire realm of Jewish-Catholic relations to the period before the Second Vatican Council had, in 1965, completely rejected what Jewish thinkers had de-

scribed as the "theology of contempt" towards Judaism, the teaching that Judaism was vanquished and rejected after the coming of Jesus.

Since Vatican II, as the council was called, Jews saw what they felt was a steady improvement in the attitude of the Roman Catholic church toward Judaism. Subsequent revisions in Roman Catholic teaching completely rejected the idea that the Jews were responsible for the death of Jesus. This was followed by a no less than revolutionary revision of Catholic textbooks, removing all traces of anti-Jewish teaching.

However, subsequent statements by Pope John Paul II at times gave the impression of a reversion to conservative Catholic doctrine, an impression that was only erased by the historic visit of the pope to the Rome synagogue in April, 1986, and his reference to Judaism as "our elder brother."

Then, in June of this year, the pope received Austrian President Kurt Waldheim, despite the appeals by Jewish leaders not to bestow the cloak of respectability upon Waldheim as long as the allegations that the Austrian president had participated in Nazi war crimes remained.

A hurriedly arranged meeting between a group of American Jewish leaders and the pope at the latter's summer palace at Castelgondolfo cleared the air sufficiently to make possible a scheduled meeting between the pontiff and a Jewish group in Miami, during the papal visit to the U.S., but the feelings of suspicion remained.

It was in this atmosphere that Jewish leaders reacted belatedly to an interview with Cardinal Ratzinger, published on October 24 in the Italian conservative weekly, *Il Sabato*.

Ratzinger, an outspoken conservative, was also quoted as referring to Edith Stein, a Jewish convert to Catholicism and Carmelite nun whose recent beatification was received with less than enthusiasm in Jewish circles, by saying "finding faith in Christ, she entered into the full inheritance of Abraham."

Ratzinger is an influential Vatican spokesman and his remarks were seen as a reason for concern, not only in Jewish circles, but among Catholics active in dialogue with Jews.

Dr. Geoffrey Wigoder, the representative of the Israel Interfaith (Continued on Back Page)

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THE JERUSALEM POST

Biggest ever U.S. coke bust
MIAMI (Renter). — Drug enforcement and U.S. customs agents have seized cocaine valued at more than \$500 million, calling it the largest cocaine seizure in U.S. history.

The shipment was in a container shipped from Central America to Florida and taken to a furniture warehouse in Dade county where it was discovered on Wednesday. The 2,790 kg. of cocaine was stuffed in cavities drilled in a shipment of timber. No arrests have been made.

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AMSTERDAM	8	46	11	55	Cloudy	
BRUSSELS	5	41	11	52	Cloudy	
BUDAPEST	12	50	28	78	Clear	
CHICAGO	19	50	19	61	Cloudy	
COPENHAGEN	7	45	9	48	Cloudy	
DUBLIN	7	45	18	65	Cloudy	
GENOVA	9	48	11	52	Rain	
Helsinki	0	32	3	37	Cloudy	
HONG KONG	22	72	26	77	Cloudy	
Johannesburg	17	63	28	82	Clear	
LONDON	13	56	18	64	Cloudy	
LISBON	8	46	13	56	Cloudy	
MADRID	0	32	16	61	Clear	
MONTREAL	2	28	7	45	Cloudy	
NEW YORK	6	42	14	57	Rain	
OSLO	3	37	1	34	Cloudy	
PARIS	8	46	12	54	Cloudy	
RIO DE JANEIRO	19	66	30	86	Cloudy	
SAO PAULO	19	66	28	79	Rain	
STOCKHOLM	1	34	4	39	Rain	
TOKYO	11	52	17	63	Clear	
TORONTO	1	34	12	54	Clear	
VIENNA	2	28	7	45	Cloudy	
ZURICH	6	41	10	50	Cloudy	

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THE WEATHER

Forecast: Cloudy and cooler with rain beginning around noon.

	Yesterday's	Yesterday's Today's	Max
	High/Low	High/Low	High/Low
Jerusalem	93/18	14/11	15
Golan	34	11-23	20
Nahariya	—	—	—
Safed	—	—	17
Haifa Port	65	12-24	23
Tiberias	45	13-24	22
Nazareth	56	14-23	20
Afula	49	9-26	33
Shomron	53	12-25	20
Tel Aviv	67	18-25	23
B-G Airport	68	12-23	21
Jericho	37	12-27	22
Gaza	70	16-24	25
Beersheba	50	10-23	20
Eilat	25	16-28	27

IN BRIEF

Explosives defused in Petah Tikva, Hadera

TEL AVIV. - While catering to a large number of customers in his new pastry shop in a Petah Tikva industrial zone, Pinhas Shlomo yesterday morning noticed a suspicious black bag which had been placed outside.

He notified the police, who arrived almost instantly just after 11 a.m. Officers blocked off the intersection of Yarkonim and Even Sapir streets to traffic while a sapper safely detonated the medium-sized bomb without damage or injuries, police said.

In Hadera, an explosive charge that was placed in the bus station was discovered and defused yesterday afternoon. There were no casualties and no damage to property.

Bomb hurled at Israeli vehicle near Haloul

An explosive charge was hurled at a passing Israeli vehicle on Wednesday night on the main Jerusalem-Hebron highway where it passes through the town of Haloul. There were no casualties or damage. Army units have been carrying out searches for the perpetrators of the bombing. (Itim).

Arab cars damaged on Hebron road

A number of cars belonging to Arab residents of the village of Arud on the Jerusalem-Hebron highway had their windshields broken and their tires slashed around Wednesday midnight. A local police constable reported that a car had drawn up to the police station, and a number of men jumped out and vandalized his car.

He said that other cars had also been vandalized. But it had all happened so fast, he could not identify the men or the car in which they had driven off in the direction of Jerusalem. Police are investigating. (Itim).

Israeli Arab charged with stabbing soldiers

HAIFA. (Itim)-Amer Muhammed Sa'ndi, 21, of Shafaram, was yesterday charged in the Haifa District Court with stabbing two soldiers on November 1 in the centre of Haifa's Hechalutz Street.

Sa'ndi is charged with stabbing the two soldiers in a shant town they were sharing, after a dispute broke out, in which he had first cursed out the soldiers and the Israeli army.

Obituary Notices accepted 24 hours a day

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HOME NEWS

Peres: moderate Arab bloc formed at Amman parley

By MICHEL ZLOTOWSKI and YOSSIE LEMKOWITZ
Jerusalem Post Correspondents

PARIS - Vice Premier Shimon Peres made a bid yesterday to discourage the impression that Israel was a *de facto* ally of Iran. In an interview with the leading French daily *Le Monde*, geared to the Middle East situation in the wake of the Amman summit, Peres said "a non-official alliance (between Israel and Iran) has never existed."

Peres arrived in Paris yesterday evening for a four-day working visit. He is due to meet this afternoon with President Mitterrand. During his stay, the Israeli foreign minister will open the Paris festivities marking the 40th anniversary of the State of Israel, by attending a gala evening at the Opera de Paris.

In the long interview published yesterday by *Le Monde*, Peres said that "Israel will refrain from any action that could hamper the struggle of the moderate Arab states against Khomeinism. We are not involved in the Iran-Iraq war...we do not support Khomeini...we stopped our arms sales to Tehran a long time ago, and you can be sure that we are not going to try to damage the very serious efforts of the moderate Arab countries to counter the dangers of Khomeinism."

For Peres, the Parisian daily writes, things must be clear: the Iranate episode is over, and Israel cannot be on Khomeini's side, since

Israel "cannot wish to become a tiny island of liberty and prosperity in an ocean of fundamentalism and poverty."

Peres added that the Arab summit in Amman had established an Arab camp ready to oppose Khomeinism and extremism, dangers that in their eyes were greater than those entailed in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

This evolution has been closely monitored by Jerusalem, since "in that camp, there is a feeling that with Israel, matters could be settled through negotiations, while they are doubtful if this could be achieved with Khomeini," said Peres.

"There are opportunities that have to be seized," the foreign minister said. "Egypt has regained her status among her peers; the rise of Islamic fundamentalism constitutes a danger to all the Arab states; the relations between the U.S. and the USSR have become less strained, and King Hussein has emerged from the Amman summit as a key Arab figure."

According to the foreign minister, this configuration can only strengthen his struggle for an international peace conference, provided that such a conference would have a limited role and that direct negotiations between Israel and her Arab neighbours would start right away.

According to Peres, the U.S. had approved this double condition and was prepared to publish a memorandum "committing all American ad-

ministrations" on this point. The talks had stalled because of the lack of agreement on that issue within the Israeli government, since Prime Minister Shamir had never made a secret of his opposition to an international conference.

Earlier in the day in Brussels, Peres, on an official visit to Belgium met publicly with President Abdou Diouf of Senegal, an African country which does not yet have diplomatic relations with Israel.

Sources close to Peres did not report a major breakthrough towards Senegal's reestablishing diplomatic relations with Israel, as five black African nations have done over the past three years. The sources added, however, that Diouf told Peres that Israeli citizens would be permitted to visit Senegal. The president of Senegal also reportedly told Peres that he was interested in stepping up economic and commercial relations with Israel through joint ventures.

JTA reports from Brussels that the Senegal president decided, following his meeting with Peres, to propose to the Organization for African Unity, to give carte blanche to every Black African state to decide on its own whether to establish relations with Israel.

It was the first time that Peres managed to meet with Diouf after two misses over the last two years. Senegal, with a predominantly Moslem population, has adopted a pro-Palestinian stand in world bodies.

Peres, who stayed one day in Brussels, was awarded an honorary doctorate by the Free University of Brussels for his peace efforts.

In the Belgian capital, Peres met for an hour with the Belgian Foreign Minister Leo Tindemans mainly to review the results of the recent Arab summit and prospects for Israeli-Arab peace.

During his meeting with Peres, Tindemans also asked him about the five Palestinian citizens taken hostage by the Abu-Nidal terror group two weeks ago. Peres answered that the five persons had no Israeli citizenship and that there was no link between them and Israel. Tindemans told journalists.



Foreign Minister Shimon Peres receives a honorary doctorate yesterday for his efforts for peace from M.G. Verhaegen, the rector of the Free University in Brussels. (Reuter)

MDs to step up sanctions at Kupat Holim hospitals

By JUDY SIEGEL
Post Science and Health Reporter

The Kupat Holim Klalit hospital doctors last night decided to turn the screws tighter on the health fund management and allow only a reduced Shabbat schedule in all its hospitals from Tuesday.

The 11-member works committee has been operating sanctions for the past six weeks in order to get what they regard as satisfactory terms for working a second shift in hospital operating rooms and clinics. So far management has all but ignored them, and no negotiations between the two sides are taking place.

On Sunday and Monday, outpatient clinics at the Histadrut health fund hospitals will be open, but all

operating rooms will be closed except for emergency surgery.

On Tuesday, when the most serious and extensive sanctions to date hit the hospitals, only a small number of physicians will be on hand to care for patients, and nurses will have to carry the burden. There are no plans to evacuate patients, however. All outpatient clinics will be shut down on Tuesday as well. Operating rooms will function on Wednesday and Thursday but outpatient clinics will be closed.

The sanctions ahead are considerably more serious than those in the past six weeks. Up till now only two or three hospitals were affected on a single day, but never all institutions simultaneously.

Lawyers debate value of lab research in courtroom

Jerusalem Post Reporter

A debate over the role of psychological research in the courtroom dominated yesterday's Demjanjuk trial as the prosecution questioned to what extent the results of laboratory experiments can be extrapolated to help judges decide cases.

Several senior researchers in the field, including professors Ellis and Robert Paccella, have reservations on this account, prosecutor Michael Shaked said, as he was trying to undermine the basis of the testimony by defence witness, Prof. Wilhelm Wagenaar, of the University of Leyden.

Wagenaar said he would not be in the witness stand if he did not think his research could be applied to the case.

Defence counsel Yoram Shefiel several times objected to the approach taken by the prosecution, the value of Wagenaar's testimony. "You cannot treat the professor as you did Edna Robertson and Anita Pritchard," he said. The reference was to two previous witnesses, a document expert and a psychologist, whose testimony had been successfully attacked by the prosecution.

Shaked said that there was an unbridgeable disproportion between the experiences - and the memories - of the survivors and the memories of persons used in laboratory tests on memory and photo recognition. Wagenaar said that he agreed. But he added that he was only testing the quality of memory, and that that was what counted. He had said earlier that no memory is completely lost, and that it was only a matter of hitting the right cue to retrieve it. He admitted, however, that visual memory can lose detail over the years.



DEMJANJUK ON TRIAL

Prosecutor Shaked put to good use research called "50 Years of Memory for Names and Faces," done in 1975 by Harry Bahrick, at Ohio Wesleyan University. In the experiment about 400 high school graduates aged 17-74 were checked regarding their memory of members of their graduating class. It was found that the recognition rate of all age groups averaged about 90 per cent.

This research, Shaked said, was the closest to parallel the memory problem of the Treblinka survivors. And the 90 per cent rate of recall and visual recognition spoke for the validity of the photo identifications they had made of Demjanjuk, he said.

Towards the end of the session court president Dov Levin asked Wagenaar to what degree of certainty science can come in memory recognition. He based his question on the fact that regarding finger print identification 100 per cent certainty is achievable. The witness said that the maximum comparable rate for memory recognition was about 80 per cent.

After a short period of re-direct questioning by defence counsel Yoram Shefiel the testimony of Wagenaar came to an end. The next witness of the defence, who will take the stand on Monday, is a documents expert from Arizona.

Tehiya chief chides MKs

By LEA LEVAVI
TEL AVIV.

Outgoing Tehiya Party Secretary-General Gideon Altschuler yesterday lashed out at MKs Yuval Ne'eman and Geula Cohen. "Ne'eman is not a leader, he's glue, and glue can't lead a movement," he said. He termed Cohen "a stumbling block to the movement," and called on both party leaders to resign.

At a press conference which he convened at the Farmers' Federation headquarters, he labelled as nonsense Ne'eman's claim that he (Altschuler) had been fired from his post as secretary-general. "I resigned because I can't work with these people. They choke new initiatives and don't want new people to come in and spoil their clique," he described Ne'eman as a "leader of a faction, not of the movement." Altschuler called Geula Cohen "the evil spirit of the Tehiya movement," causing disunity in the party and instigating litigation in the movement's court to undermine Altschuler's position as secretary-general.

He said that within a few days, if not hours, MK Rafael Eitan will announce his departure from Tehiya - Eitan has already written to Knesset Speaker Shlomo Hilel declaring himself to be a one-man parliamentary faction - and the establishment of a new movement, unless Ne'eman and Cohen prevent the rift by resigning.

In response, Tehiya Party spokesman Avi Farhan charged Altschuler with stooping to personal insults against his former colleagues. "If the situation is as he described it, why was he silent for three years? Where was he?"

In deep sorrow we announce the death of Prof. SIMON HALKIN

The funeral procession will leave the Sanhedria Funeral Parlour in Jerusalem today, Friday, November 20, 1987, at 12:30 p.m. for the Har-Hamenuhot cemetery

Deeply mourned by his
Wife: Minnie
Daughter: Zephira Porat and family
Son: Hillel Halkin and family

To mark the 6th anniversary of the passing of our beloved

CELIA LAKS

we will hold a memorial service on Thursday, November 26, 1987 at 3 p.m. at the Har-Hamenuhot cemetery, Jerusalem.

The Family



A woman visits the grave of a loved one yesterday during memorial ceremonies marking the 31st anniversary of the Sinai Campaign. (Rahamim Israeli)

Court orders doctors to justify prolonging dying man's life

By BERNARD JOSEPHS
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The High Court of Justice yesterday ordered doctors and health officials to show cause within 10 days why they are refusing to allow a man who is in agony from an incurable illness to die according to his wishes.

Justice Menahem Elon handed down the "show cause" order after hearing an application from the family of Gideon Nakash, 55, and from the Society for Euthanasia, to grant Nakash's appeal that his life support systems, on which he has survived for the past four months, be switched off.

The case, the first of its kind to be heard before an Israeli court, has sparked a national debate on mercy killing. Last night Sephardi Chief Rabbi Mordechai Eliahu joined the argument saying: "To allow a man to die is forbidden."

Nakash, who suffers from multiple sclerosis is completely paralyzed and in constant pain at Kaplan Hospital, Rehovot. Using a system of eye signals he has appealed to his wife Dina: "Please let me die." But

Rabbi Eliahu said: "Even for a man who is suffering, it is better to suffer and live than to die."

"I don't know what the High Court will rule but I don't believe you can force a doctor to kill a person against his conscience and against Halacha. There is not a Jewish doctor whose hand would not tremble when he holds a needle to inject a drug that would cause a person's death," the chief rabbi declared.

The chief rabbi joined Health Ministry officials and Medical Association leaders in opposing euthanasia. But doctors are said to be split on the issue and MK Shulamit Aloni has presented a bill in the Knesset which would make mercy killings legal in certain circumstances.

At the High Court in Jerusalem yesterday Justice Elon ordered Health Minister Director-General Yoram Lass, Kaplan Hospital director Dr. Haim Gordon and the head of the hospital's internal medicine department, Prof. Zvi Bentwich, to explain why the equipment keeping Nakash alive should

not be removed, and why he should not be given pain killing drugs that would end his suffering "forever."

In the application, his wife Dina, his children Tzila and Hagai and the Society for Euthanasia said Nakash's disease had reached an incurable stage and that for the past four months he had been suffering from "unbearable pain and paralysis."

The lawyer for the applicants, Yitzhak Hoshen, who is chairman of the society, said that his client had undergone an operation to open his breathing passage and ever since had been kept alive artificially. "He has not ceased to make clear his wish to end his suffering by removing the life support systems," continued Hoshen.

"He believes that he is the master of his body and he has the right to decide how to deal with his situation without the interference of others. His wife and children are also opposed to continuing with the support systems that are keeping him alive. He is entitled to a natural death without suffering."

Tap shut on 3 indebted moshavim

By DAVID RUDGE
Jerusalem Post Reporter

MERON. - The Mekorot water company yesterday reduced supplies to three more moshavim in the Merom HaGalil region because of outstanding debts. The company warned it would take similar action against other farming settlements in Galilee and the north unless they paid their bills.

Minister of Agriculture Arye Nehamkin yesterday ordered Mekorot to renew water supplies to all the moshavim that had been cut off, and to refrain from pressing them to pay their water debts.

Nehamkin said that the question of the moshavim's water debts would be settled within the framework of the implementation of the Raviv Committee's recommendations on the rescheduling of moshav debts.

"We have tried, where possible, to assist the farmers because of their financial problems, but we cannot wait forever," Mekorot spokesman Mordechai Yacovovich told *The Jerusalem Post*.

He noted that some of the settlements had debts dating back 18 months, while many others owed money from the summer.

The moshavim Shamai, Shefer and Elifelet were the ones to feel the squeeze yesterday as Mekorot turned off the taps, except for two hours. Yacovovich said the restrictions would remain in force until the moshavim paid up. Moshav Dovev is next on the list unless its members fulfil their promise to pay by next week.

Yacovovich said normal water supplies had been resumed to several other settlements in the region, which had suffered cutbacks earlier

this month, after they had made arrangements or pledges to reimburse the water company.

Moshav Avivim, which had received water for two hours a day for the past three weeks, has also been reconnected, even though the settlement has no money to cover its debts. Supplies were resumed after it transpired that IDF soldiers in the north also received their water from the same pipe that serves Avivim.

The moshavim maintained they had paid their water bills to their regional purchasing organization, which has since collapsed without transferring the money to Mekorot. Settlement leaders said that even if they managed to cover some outstanding bills, they had no money to pay for recent and current water supplies, unless the government implemented its economic bail-out plan for the country's crippled farming settlements.

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ADI NUSSBAUM

a memorial service and unveiling of the tombstone will take place on Sunday, November 22, 1987, at 2:30 p.m., at the Kiryat Shaul Military Cemetery. We will meet at the cemetery entrance. Our grateful thanks to all who expressed condolences in person and writing.

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Her Friends

Iraq again bombs Iran nuclear plant

NICOSIA (Reuters). — Iraqi warplanes yesterday bombed an unfinished nuclear power plant on Iran's Gulf coast for the third time in three days, Tehran Radio reported.

The radio said facilities at the Bushehr plant were damaged in the latest attack but there were no casualties.

Iran has held Iraq responsible for any radioactive leak, but the Vienna-based International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) said on Wednesday the nature and quantity of nuclear material at the plant posed no significant hazard.

Tehran Radio, monitored in Nicosia, said Iranian aircraft flew three sorties yesterday morning against Aqrah garrison in northern Iraq and troop concentrations at Shahrani on the south-central war front.

A military spokesman in Baghdad said Iraqi gunners brought down two Iranian F-5 fighter planes yesterday morning; one was shot down over Aqrah and the other was seen

falling in flames on the south-central war front. The Tehran report did not refer to the safe return of the attacking Iranian warplanes.

A Tehran war spokesman rejected as a "pure lie" a report that Iranian jets bombed a hospital in northern Iraq. Baghdad had said nine people were killed and 64 wounded in an Iranian raid on a hospital in Dohuk on Wednesday. Iran said two Iraqi jets were shot down over the Western province of Bakhtaran on Wednesday and three villagers in the province were injured in an Iraqi attack. Iraq denied that it lost any planes.

Construction of Iran's nuclear plant at Bushehr was started in the mid 1970s by the West German firm Kraft Werk Union (KWU), but was abandoned after the 1979 Islamic revolution.

Iran said 10 people, including an Iranian nuclear expert and a West German engineer, were killed in two Iraqi air raids at the Bushehr site on Tuesday.

Tehran Radio said civil servants marched to the parliament building in the capital yesterday in support of a mobilization ordered by Iranian leaders for new attacks to break the deadlock in the Iran-Iraq war.

Speaker Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani told the marchers that "whispers of peace and ceasefire spread through the UN Security Council in the past few months" had not changed the mood of the Iranian people who still supported Iran's war and sacred defence.

Prime Minister Mir-Hossein Mousavi, meanwhile, stressed that Iran would continue opposing the U.S. military presence in the region "until the Americans are expelled from the Persian Gulf."

"Despite the hull in news, America is consistently bolstering its aggressive presence in the region," the radio quoted Mousavi as saying.

"We should not let this issue be forgotten and the U.S. get the opportunity to consolidate its position in the region."



A fire inspector looks over the debris left by the fire that ravaged King's Cross station in London on Wednesday. (Reuters)

Recriminations fly after London blaze claims 34 dead

By DAVID HOROVITZ

Jerusalem Post Correspondent LONDON. — The acrid smell of smoke still hung heavy in the air around King's Cross station yesterday, as workmen began clearing away the debris from London's worst ever underground fire.

Thirty-four people died in the blaze, which began on an escalator leading to the station's main ticket hall at 7.45 on Wednesday night.

The precise cause is not yet known, but the draught and warm air in the labyrinth of tunnels at the capital's busiest station turned what was initially described as a "minor inconvenience" into a terrifying blaze within minutes, sending searing walls of flame shooting into the crowded ticketing areas, trapping thousands in the smoke-filled tunnels below.

As firemen yesterday again descended into the heart of King's Cross, seeking to determine the cause of the blaze, anxious relatives

were still being called to identify bodies burned almost beyond recognition, and the recriminations were beginning to fly.

Labour MP Frank Dobson, whose constituency includes King's Cross, charged that London Regional Transport (LRT) has cut back on staff to the extent where "the interests of safety are being sacrificed to save money." And the National Union of Railwaymen confirmed that the former King's Cross staff complement of 16 was recently reduced to 10.

LRT's Tony Ridley declared, however, that "staffing levels had nothing to do with the fire last night," while Premier Margaret Thatcher, who yesterday toured both the scene of the blaze and the hospitals where its victims are being treated, had no comment on the cause, but spoke only of the "horrifying tragedy" and the "marvellous work" of the firefighters. One senior fireman, 45-year-old Colin

Townsend, was among those killed, and two other firemen are injured.

Over 150 firemen fought the blaze as it burned on through Wednesday evening, the first of them rushing instinctively through the smoke-belching exit staircases only to be overcome by heat and fumes.

Passengers emerged from the depths with stories of incompetence by the LRT staff.

Andrew Lee was one of several passengers who said that he had been expressly directed to an escalator that led right into the heart of the blaze. "The escalator was still moving up, when we were suddenly hit by a sheet of flame. We all started rushing back down the escalator."

Even after the fire had been burning for 15 minutes, trains were still pulling in and out of King's Cross, disgorging unwitting passengers into platforms only metres beneath the blaze itself. The heat was so intense that it cracked concrete, melted metal and destroyed ceiling tiles

around the escalator and the ticket hall.

Passengers, driven frantically upwards in the search for fresh air, were found dead in the ticketing area; they would have been safer staying at platform level.

Whatever else LRT says when the inquiry into Wednesday's blaze gets under way in earnest, it will not be able to claim that it had not been warned.

An independent report following the 1984 Oxford Circus blaze noted that, "No lives have been lost this time...but luck has a habit of running out." It recommended that sprinklers and smoke alarms be installed in all stations, that staff undergo more rigorous training in dealing with fire, and that new emergency exits be constructed and the existing exits more clearly marked.

None of those recommendations has been implemented at King's Cross, or any other station.

Cairo hopes to boost arms sales to Gulf

KUWAIT (Reuters). — Egypt, now back in the Arab fold, hopes to boost arms sales to Gulf states threatened by the Iran-Iraq war, Gulf-based diplomats said yesterday.

They said Egypt, the Arab world's strongest power, saw the restoration of diplomatic ties with Gulf Arab states as opening the way to expand markets for its burgeoning arms industry.

Cairo sent a military delegation to Kuwait within 24 hours of last week's Arab summit declaration that Arab states were free to resume full links with Egypt.

The delegation, still in Kuwait this week, has been discussing the sale of Egyptian-made air defence systems to the oil-rich emirate situated next door to Iraq.

Kuwait is looking for a system to shoot down Silkorm missiles after three attacks last month in which one of its oil terminals and two tankers were hit. It said the Silkorms were fired by Iran.

The Gulf Arab states, which see a growing military threat from Tehran, spearheaded the drive for

Egypt's rehabilitation and were among the first to restore ties after the Amman summit. All six members of the Gulf cooperation council (GCC) — Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar, Bahrain, Oman and the United Arab Emirates — now have embassies in Cairo.

Egypt has for several years had experts in Kuwait helping to train Kuwaitis in the operation of Soviet anti-aircraft missiles used by both countries, the diplomats said. These experts now number around 50, they added.

Kuwait Defence Minister Sheikh Salem al-Sabah, who announced after the Silkorm strikes that his country was considering the purchase of new anti-missile systems, met the Egyptian delegation last Sunday. Before that, he discussed options with French and American military officials who visited the emirate.

The diplomats said Egypt offered an improved version of its Swiss-designed Amun air defence system, comprising radar, two 35mm guns and two anti-aircraft missile launchers. They said it was effective in the

intermediate range and would complement Kuwait's longer-range Hawk air defence system bought from the U.S. An order for the Amun would be a coup for the Egyptian arms industry.

Western sources estimate Egypt's arms exports at a minimum \$800 million annually — one of its most important sources of hard currency.

Cairo also aims to attract investment from the oil-rich Gulf states to its arms industry. It hopes to revive full Gulf backing for the Arab Organization for Industrialization, a pan-Arab arms manufacturing group based in Egypt which Gulf states deserted after Cairo made peace with Israel.

A military attaché in Cairo said Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Qatar had already agreed in principle to rejoin the organization.

Diplomats said Egypt, still scarred from its costly intervention in the Yemeni civil war in the 1960s, was unlikely to commit combat troops again in the Arabian peninsula.

French wine tipplers hail the newest Beaujolais

PARIS (Reuters). — It may smell of bananas or boiled sweets, but French tipplers yesterday hailed the 1987 Beaujolais Nouveau as among the best of the young, ruby-red wines ever produced.

As the traditional race by car, plane, truck and boat began at midnight to rush millions of bottles of the wine to thirsty customers around the world, Beaujolais marketers said the wine had been sold to a record number of countries in 1987.

"And yes, it does smell of bananas," said Beaujolais producer Michel Deflache.

Paris bistros offered the new Beaujolais to office workers at breakfast time, and dozens of journalists and television crews crowded into the central Paris Patis de Co restaurant, where the wine was officially launched.

"It is an extraordinarily fruity wine," Pierre Blanc, owner of the restaurant, told Reuters. "It has surprised many people that it smells of bananas, but others have also said it smells of boiled sweets."

Blanc said the French expressed their feelings about a wine with spontaneity, using the first words that came to mind after tasting.

Georges Debeuf, the best-known producer of Beaujolais wines, told reporters the 1987 vintage was a classic that had surprised producers with its "durability and mellowness in the mouth."

Deflache said the wine's quality had been radically improved by a three-week burst of sunshine immediately before the deep-blue Gamay grapes were picked at the end of September.

Drinking the Beaujolais Nouveau has become an annual tradition in France, Western Europe and in many other countries around the world, although critics say it is a mediocre table wine that has been expertly marketed.

Deflache rejected this, saying, "It's true, you have to drink the Beaujolais Nouveau before Christmas, as it does not keep, but the wine tastes of fresh grapes, and people enjoy the feeling of drinking



A French customs officer at Calais inspects a load of Beaujolais Nouveau being trucked across the channel to Britain on Wednesday night. (Reuters)

such a young wine."

With less than two months between the grape harvest and the third Thursday in November, when the wine is launched, the Beaujolais Nouveau is strong in smell and taste.

West Germany is the biggest export market for the new wine, while Britain and the U.S. tie for second place among the 50 countries which will this year sell the new Beaujolais.

Gifts and cash flow in to help raise \$4m. ransom for Melodie

ESTEPONA, Spain (Reuters). — Millionaire Lebanese businessman Raymond Nakachian, clutching a bunch of cheques and postal orders, said yesterday gifts were pouring in from all over Spain to help him raise a \$4 million ransom for his kidnapped daughter Melodie.

"I am very moved. I thank all the Spanish people," Nakachian told reporters in a brief appearance outside his luxury home. "We are receiving money from all over Spain, from children and mothers, 100 to 2,000 pesetas (90 cents to \$17)," he said.

Nakachian was also reported seeking backing from friends and bankers in an attempt to meet the ransom demand and end his five-year-old daughter's 11-day ordeal.

Nervous kidnappers have reduced the ransom demand for the second time and have threatened to kill the girl.

"We are not feeding the girl. We are giving her something we know...if the father doesn't pay, we'll either kill her or starve her," a caller with an Arab accent told the newspaper ABC.

The head of the Red Cross in this Costa del Sol resort, Juan Parau,

visited Nakachian and his Korean-born wife Kimera to offer to mediate and said they were completely distraught.

Parau said mediums have telephoned Nakachian, claiming to know where his daughter was being held. Two callers told the Red Cross she was out at sea and gave instructions on how to find the boat. An all-day search proved fruitless.

Meanwhile Nakachian pleaded with the British press to be "more gentle and nice."

British newspapers have reported Nakachian once owned a nightclub in London and was expelled from the country. They said detectives questioned his friends and former partners in London for any clue to the motives and identity of the kidnappers who had first demanded \$13m.

"Whatever this man's past, you have to feel sorry for him as a father," a Spanish police officer told Reuters in Estepona.

The main opposition Popular Alliance (AP) party called on Socialist Interior Minister Jose Barrionuevo to report to parliament on security in the region.

NY Times: Panama offered assassinations

NEW YORK (Reuters). — Panama's military leader General Manuel Antonio Noriega offered to undertake sabotage and possibly assassinations in Nicaragua for the Reagan administration, *The New York Times* said yesterday.

The newspaper said unnamed government officials disclosed the offer in explaining a veiled allusion to the matter in the Congressional report on the Iran-Contra affair published on Wednesday. It said fired White House aide Lieutenant-Colonel Oliver North accepted Noriega's sabotage offer on instructions of his superior, National Security Adviser Rear Admiral John Poindexter.

The plan never got off the ground. According to the report, Poindexter ordered North not to become involved in conspiracy or assassinations, but the newspaper said Poindexter apparently decided to run the sabotage operation outside normal

Kremlin agrees to allow U.S. to inspect missiles at factory

WASHINGTON (Reuters). — The Soviet Union has agreed to allow U.S. inspectors to check strategic missiles leaving the factory, *The Washington Post* reported yesterday. It said the agreement was one of several advances made in the latest session of the U.S.-Soviet negotiations in Geneva, which ended on Tuesday.

The *Post* quoted administration sources as saying the Soviet proposal would allow U.S. personnel to be stationed at a gate through which newly-made Soviet strategic missiles must pass.

The inspection would allow the United States to verify the missiles were SS-25 long-range nuclear missiles, and not the somewhat similar SS-20 intermediate range missile which would be banned under the agreement President Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev are expected to sign in Washington next month.

Philippine instability drives off tourists

MANILA (Reuters). — Tourism Undersecretary Walfrido Reyes told the Philippine News Agency that at least 10 major international conferences have been cancelled because of the country's instability, costing millions of dollars in potential revenue.

One of the biggest, a 5,000-delegate conference by Pentecostal Christians, had moved to Singapore, he added.

The organizers of an international AIDS conference to be held in Manila next week said on Wednesday that their six major speakers and a third of their expected 1,000 delegates had cancelled.

The Philippine military said three members of a Communist assassination squad were arrested on Wednesday in La Union province, north of Subic Bay.

RIOT POLICE fired teargas yesterday at an angry crowd that has been blocking an area of downtown Lagos since a traffic policeman killed two carpenters there on Tuesday.

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BRIEFS

The riots started when policemen chasing a car, killed a carpenter in his shop because he had failed to tell them which way the suspect had gone. When the man's brother intervened, police killed him too.

EAST GERMANY has returned some archaeological treasures to Turkey, giving back 1,435 Hittite cuneiform tablets removed during World War I, Turkish Tourism Ministry sources said yesterday. The tablets, documenting the history of

the Hittites from 1700 BC to 1200 BC, had been kept in a basement of the state museum in East Berlin. The museum is to return a further 5,965 tablets later this week.

A CHINESE air force squadron commander flew his Mig-19 jet fighter across the narrow Taiwan strait and defected to the nationalists yesterday, the Taiwan Defence Ministry reported. Liu Chih Yuan, 28, took off from a base in Lungshi in the southern coastal province of Fujian, 180 kilometres across the Taiwan strait, and landed at the Ching Chuan Kang air force base, south of Taipei.

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Graff's Waldheim defence backfires

By ILONA HENRY
Jerusalem Post Correspondent
VIENNA — Dr. Michael Graff, the 50-year-old lawyer accused of reviving the virus of anti-Semitism during the 1986 Austrian presidential election campaign, has seen his political career badly infected by the disease.

The general secretary of Austria's second largest party, the conservative People's Party, was hurt by a remark he made in defence of Dr. Kurt Waldheim. Only this time, his sharp tongue served neither himself nor Waldheim.

The French weekly L'Express quoted Graff as saying: "President Kurt Waldheim will only become a problem for Austria, if it is proven that he had strangled six Jews with his own hands."

This diatribe by Graff, an ardent Waldheim supporter, not only harmed Waldheim, but paved the way for his own fall.

However there may have been a good reason for Graff's verbal outburst. It had already become clear to Graff and his party chairman, Foreign Minister and Vice Chancellor

Dr. Alois Mock, that the international commission of historians investigating Kurt Waldheim's activities during World War II, will not restrict their inquiry as the president's defenders would have liked.

Recently, Mock said publicly that the commission's task is only to determine whether Waldheim had been personally involved in war crimes. The commission, including historians from West Germany, Britain, Israel and other countries, will apparently look into Waldheim's activities beyond his physical involvement. For instance, if the commission rules that he knew about deportations from Salonika, about killing of British P.O.s, for example, it will probably find that Waldheim was one of the best informed officers in his unit. That would mean that he had lied constantly about his past.

With this possibility staring him in the face, and asked to comment on when Waldheim would constitute a problem in his opinion, the otherwise brilliant lawyer presented a pic-

ture of his moral standards. Specifically, he believes personal guilt exists only if Waldheim killed Jews with his own hands.

At a reception at the presidential residence given for the foreign press, Waldheim told The Jerusalem Post that "the resignation was the only possible decision." Waldheim seemed relieved that the man who for the past 18 months had acted as his best advocate, but now had harmed him terribly by moving him close to a figurative picture of murdering with his own hands, has gone.

This time, Graff overdid his job as watchdog. His clients used him when they needed him and dropped him when he turned out to be handicapped.

But neither Mock nor Graff decided on their own that in this case the limits of good taste had been passed. Only a public outcry led to the resignation. But tough guy Graff, who had called the representatives of the World Jewish Congress "people without honour," probably would not have resigned as

a result of demands for his head by the Alternative-Green Party. Nor would he have quit due to Simon Wiesenthal's emotional words or the protest by the Jewish community.

What made him resign were the reactions of his own party supporters. Thousands of People's Party voters called in or sent telegrams to party headquarters expressing their outrage and disgust with Graff's statement. The Waldheim election campaign definitely sensitized the Austrian public. Graff, who repeatedly showed either a real, or more often politically calculated, lack of sensitivity towards the problems of Jews and the Holocaust had now overstepped the bounds of the permissible.

The Austrian media unanimously called for Graff's resignation. Even those newspapers which have posited a world conspiracy against Austria whenever criticism of Waldheim came up, this time felt that "Graff had become a burden for the country."



An armoured personnel carrier boards the Ashdod, a landing craft, during this week's combined naval, infantry and armour exercise. (IDF spokesman)

IDF winds up giant land-sea exercise

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT
Post Defence Reporter

The IDF yesterday concluded a large-scale, complex landing exercise in which the Navy brought tanks, self-propelled artillery and mechanized infantry to a sandy beach, unloaded the force in pitch darkness, and retreated while the force launched an attack, using live fire to occupy a string of "enemy" positions.

The exercise could be significant as the IDF's senior command is seeking new ways of striking at sensitive enemy positions, while avoiding head-on battles. The Syrians, for example, have heavy fortifications between the Golan and Damascus, making a breakthrough there a very costly proposition.

Israel, which according to the Tel Aviv University's Jaffee Centre for Strategic Studies has 15 landing craft, could thus land a "small brigade," at poorly defended places.

Speaking to The Jerusalem Post on board a swaying landing craft, Aluf-Mishne E., the commander of the Givati Brigade, said, "We are talking today about a sophisticated army, about tricks and how not to bang one's head against the wall. Well, there is one possibility — taking advantage of the enemy's soft underbelly."

The exercise began late Monday, when the landing craft arrived to load the ground forces. A Navy official said the force would not be put ashore in a port because someone on a foreign vessel anchored at Haifa or Ashdod might detect the activity, and the element of surprise would be lost.

As the vessel approached the coast, one of the men on shore swam over, measured the depth of the water and informed the captain. We were some 30 metres from land when a heavy self-propelled cannon separated itself from the

convoy on the coast, and backed up into the sea. Greyish water swirled around as a soldier on board the landing-craft signalled directions with a bright flashlight and a soldier on the self-propelled cannon related instructions to the driver facing the land. The landing craft shuddered slightly as the heavy vehicle moved onto the ramp and into the naval craft.

At the side of the craft, some of the ballast water was released. Next came several armoured personnel carriers and another self-propelled cannon.

Another landing-craft, the Achziv, pulled up near us. Its black silhouette could be seen thanks to the lights at a civilian site farther away. Merkava tanks were loaded on — their barrels barely visible above the water-level.

As each vehicle came on board, water accumulated during the 30-metre trip poured into the landing-craft. Some personnel carriers skidded slightly and a naval source reported several collisions during previous loadings.

The troops then chained the armoured vehicles to the ships hull, the ramp was pulled up and locked into position.

The hold was very crowded and in order to move around, one had to walk on the roofs of the personnel carriers, holding on to metal bars on the craft's roof.

Then the soldiers, taking their guns and rolling up their sleeping bags, climbed a narrow ladder to the top deck where they were to spend some 24 hours while the craft sailed to its destination.

Some of the soldiers were excited about the trip and the break in their routine exercises and stunts in Lebanon. "It's fun," Israel Gurkevitch of Kedumim said. Some made themselves at home — as best as they could on a cold deck — by removing their shoes and washing their faces and hands. They spent most of the day sleeping.

The Navy meanwhile practised

protecting the convoy. The landing-craft travel at a speed of 20 kilometres an hour, an ideal pace for enemy submarines. Thus the landing-craft were surrounded by Dabur patrol boats and an outer perimeter of missile boats especially equipped for anti-submarine warfare. The missile boats and the Daburs would prevent submarines from approaching and if a torpedo is fired, would be able to warn the landing craft in time for it to change course.

Other exercises were designed to repel attacks by enemy missile boats firing from great distances — and from aircraft.

The exercises on the outer perimeter were thus conducted miles away, mostly out of sight of the Ashdod. However, when an air attack was simulated the vessel's crew was put on alert.

After sunset the convoy arrived at the landing site. Small advance teams landed quietly in fibreglass craft to secure the beachhead and occupy some threatening "enemy" positions. Others at the landing site prepared the markers for the landing craft.

Finally the landing-craft arrived. The first to come off was a bulldozer. It was sent to help extricate equipment that might become stuck. The bulldozers, crewed by experienced soldiers, seemed to slip slightly but it steadied and landed safely.

Next came the Merkava tanks which seemed about to topple headlong into the water before their treads hit the ground. The noise was deafening as the personnel carriers and cannons roared ahead.

The rest of the Givati force then assembled at a nearby sand dune and launched its attack, firing red tracer bullets at mounds where the "enemy" was located.

When Irish ties are widening

By DAVID HOROVITZ
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

LONDON — As diplomatic, trade and cultural ties between Israel and the Republic of Ireland intensify, pressure is mounting on both governments to open diplomatic missions on each other's territory.

Although diplomatic relations have been established for some 15 years, Israel's interests in Ireland are still handled by its London Embassy, while Ireland's dealings with Israel are managed from the republic's embassy in Athens.

According to John Duane, director of trade at the Dublin-based Irish-Israel Development Association, Irish-Israel trade is greatly hampered by the lack of resident embassies. Ireland, he noted, is the only EC member-nation without a diplomatic mission in Israel.

Duane told The Jerusalem Post this week that, while two-way trade has this year risen to an impressive £50 million, there is ample potential for that figure to be doubled.

Irish trade with Arab states is estimated at a massive £3 billion annually, however, and Duane ascribed Irish reluctance to open a mission in Israel to "the traditional fear of rocking the boat."

Sources from both countries have told The Post in recent days of the difficulties posed by the lack of resident missions.

Until recently, said one source, "Israel's image in Ireland was appalling. Senior Dublin government officials genuinely believed that the Israeli authorities didn't care at all about the deaths of 3 number of Irish UNIFIL soldiers in Lebanon. The general perception was one of a crass, arrogant state."

That impression has improved considerably, with the marked increase in trade and cultural links over past months, but the source believed that Israel is still suffering badly from the lack of a local spokesman.

The Israel embassy staff in London pay commendable attention to Israeli interests in Ireland; he added, "but there are some delicate matters that require urgent, on-the-spot attention, and at present there is no one to give that attention."

An Ireland-Israel Chamber of Commerce was established last year to deal with trade inquiries, but matters relating to tourism, culture, general information and so on are either handled by volunteers in Dublin, or are referred to the embassy in London.

It is understood that, of the two countries, Ireland is the more reluctant to open a mission, worried by both the threat of terrorist reprisal and the possible consequences for Irish-Arab trade.

East German's visit portends closer ties

By YA'ACOV FRIEDLER
Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA — A leading East Berlin writer who "reintroduced the Jews to East Germany" now intends to inform his numerous readers about Israel. Heinz Knobloch, 61, a member of the central committee of the Writers Union in his country, expects "a slow improvement" in the relations with Israel, starting with cultural ties.

"My coming here, after obtaining my exit permit and Israeli visa with no difficulties, may be a sign. I believe more artists will be coming," the author of 30 books and a columnist for his country's largest weekly, Wochenpost, told The Jerusalem Post.

He has come as guest of Haifa University's Shalom Foundation for a three-day visit to include lectures on East German literature and a lot of "looking and seeing."

"We in the DDR don't evade our responsibility for what Germany did to the Jews. But we know very little about Israel and that's mutual," he said. "There is much interest in things Jewish and Israeli in my country."

The easily smiling Knobloch was conscripted into Hitler's Wehrmacht at the age of 17, following his "automatic" membership in the Hitler-Jugend, but deserted to the Americans in Normandy in July, 1944 and spent the next four years in P.O.-W camps in the USA and Scotland.

"Deserting was a risky act, but I don't want to decorate myself with false feathers. I took the risk at 18, because I objected to anything as senseless as war," he said.

He has written two books on specific Jewish themes, both best sellers, and has co-authored books on Jewish cemeteries.

In Herr Moses in Berlin about Moses Mendelssohn he recounts the great contribution the Jews made in the two centuries preceding Hitler to German science, culture and art.

In My Dearest Mathilde, about Rosa Luxemburg and her secretary, Mathilda Jacob, who perished in Theresienstadt, he details all the nasty regulations the Nazis dreamed up week by week to make the Jews' life in Germany miserable until their final deportation to the death camps.



Heinz Knobloch

It took him years of research to inform his countrymen, "and I am among the last of those who personally experienced the Nazi period," that by 1942, when Jacob was deported, Jews were no longer allowed to use public transport or even take cover under a bus stop. He discovered that even as they were being deported, Jews had to register everything they still owned, "which was very little" down to the last handkerchief, for confiscation.

"We knew about the deportations, because our Jewish residents disappeared. But not many knew of all the extra annoyances inflicted on them. I believe it is important to record them."

The book is in its third edition, with 25,000 copies sold, while the Mendelssohn book has already sold 45,000. Both have been published in West Berlin too, but with smaller sales.

What made him so interested in the Jews, of whom there are only 2,000 in the DDR?

"In my school years, and after the war, the subject was kept away from us," he said. "I believe that if we forget the Jews and their fate we'd be allowing Hitler to achieve his goal — the spiritual destruction of the Jews as well as the physical destruction, and this must not be."

Nobody asked him to do it, and "you get no advances on books like that," but he felt people must not forget. The wonderful reward was the unexpectedly huge volume of mail they brought him, "from university professors to farmers' wives who thank me for informing them about things they had not known."

In Israel, he wants to follow up on German Jewish immigration and the political actions of Theodor Herzl, "whom I know only as a good writer."

"We have no anti-Semitism in East Germany," Knobloch said, noting that in effect they had no Jews. Teachers who read his works to their class have written him that they have never seen a Jew, making it a little hard for them.

He believes that his countrymen also "don't know what Zionism is" and he himself asked me whether Zionism and Israel were synonymous. But, there was an interest in Israel, especially literature and "despite the translation difficulties" such authors as Ephraim Kishon and Amos Oz, "have been published."

Shortly, a new book of selections from over 100 Israeli writers of Yiddish, Hebrew and Arabic is to appear in a popular series of foreign literature books.

With the weekly paper that runs his column selling 1.5 million copies, "and people queue for it" in a country of 16.5 million, his descriptions of Israel are likely to have a great impact in the DDR.

(See also, "The rabbi goes east," in today's Weekend Magazine.)

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Nissim's choices

The finance minister, facing an election year, aims to hold on to our hard-won economic stability. Living standards won't drop, and maybe he will be able to achieve increased growth through tax and interest rate cuts

HOW WILL the unity government solve our economic problems and still manage to give the public a good time in an election year? More specifically, what solution can the government devise to the problems of the exporters and farmers that is not at the expense of an urban population accustomed to high levels of consumption? The theme behind a plan which could go into effect by the beginning of next year would be to hold the rate of inflation steady and even bring it down. The following scenario of this plan, insofar as it exists, is hereby outlined as a service to readers of *The Post*.

Which problems does this plan address? Which economic achievements is this plan intended to enhance?

It will increase exports by a nominal devaluation and lower interest rates, thereby resolving some of the difficulties faced by farmers in debt, stimulating the economy, boosting foreign exchange reserves, holding wages at current levels and making consumer goods more available.

Finance Minister Moshe Nissim is likely to push for increased liberalization of the economy with the official backing of the economic establishment i.e., the central bank. The finance minister wants to maintain his biggest achievement of the past year, namely the lower rate of inflation, which has been running at an annual pace of around 11 per cent. In order to root out any speculations about wage increases, which could jeopardize his success in battling inflation, Nissim is taking a very tough line over the Israel Broadcasting Authority (IBA) strike. This could be a signal to anyone daring to contemplate pre-election bribery.

Aside from Nissim and his former colleague Yitzhak Moda'i, the Likud's performance has been poor. In each case the Likud has made the mistakes and the Alignment come in to correct them. The Likud got us into the mire of Lebanon, hyperinflation and the Lavi fiasco; the Alignment extricated us.

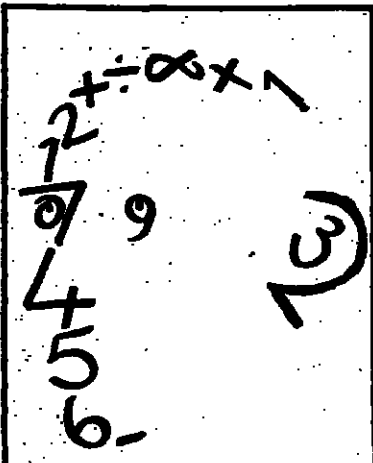
Ironically, the Alignment would not have been able to save us from the Likud had not a succession of senior Likud ministers crossed the floor on each occasion in support of Labour. Before the withdrawal from Lebanon, it was David Levy; over the economic stabilization programme, it was Yitzhak Moda'i; and over the scrapping of the Lavi, it was Moshe Nissim.

The Likud has its back to the wall trying to come up with a positive record. Prime Minister Shamir announced this week that since the positive economic indicators of the past year are attributable to his leadership, he plans to continue in this course in the coming year. He has given his full support to his finance minister - indeed Nissim is the only one who can be produced as an economic star in the Likud's election campaign.

HOW WILL this as-yet-unveiled plan work? By the beginning of next year, the

Shlomo Maoz

government will announce a devaluation of about 7-10 per cent. But it should be pointed out immediately that this devaluation will be only a nominal one and ineffectual at that. It will enable exporters to the dollar bloc to keep their markets. At the same time the government will stop selling foreign currency cheaply by importing items on which no extra charges and duties are levied at the ports. This will immediately eliminate the existing black market and bring the tourists back to the official banks for their foreign exchange transactions. As always occurs, devaluation will cause an inflow of foreign currency into Israel and as a result, foreign reserves will soar to new records.



But we should not forget that Nissim; the Bank of Israel governor, the prime minister and his deputy premier, Shimon Peres do not want inflationary pressure. In order to avoid such pressures, the government will cut import taxes across the board, as a result of which import prices will remain at their previous level. At the same time the Bank of Israel will cut the mad interest rates that have clearly been a burden on business and desired growth. The Bank of Israel is holding the interest rate high mainly to curb the flight of foreign exchange. After nominal devaluation, the need for high interest should disappear.

Cutting the interest rate will have a tremendous impact on the economy. First of all it will reduce part of the cost which is a millstone round the necks of the entrepreneurs and compensate them for the increase in the price of imported raw materials resulting from the nominal devaluation. Interest rates will be closer to international levels.

The advantage of these steps is that they will not only increase exports as such, but will give more to manufacturers with higher added value. Those who import more will pay more while others will be encouraged to reduce wasteful imports resulting from the existing, artificial, cheap foreign exchange rate.

The Histadrut will not agree to a further decrease in the pay packets

of low wage-earners, especially in the public sector. The Treasury will ask for a package deal which will include further cuts in income tax on low earners. This could be achieved via implementation of the Sheshinsky Committee recommendations. The income tax threshold will be raised to ensure that employees will not sustain a loss in net income on the eve of an election year. At the same time this means that the manufacturers will be more competitive since in foreign exchange terms manpower will be cheaper.

How can the government afford further tax cuts after the cuts of last April? Though Nissim was generous last April with the higher-paid workers by cutting the maximum marginal income tax, and later on by increasing the minimum wage, he was in favour of low earnings. This time, by widening the tax base and cancelling tax exemptions he can finance a reduction in income tax for the medium wage-earners. Even without implementing the Sheshinsky reforms, a rise of 5 per cent in economic activity would boost state revenues to finance this reduction in income tax.

This combination of low taxes, low interest rates and low import taxes could inject new life into the economy and achieve economic growth. Economic growth, it should be recalled, was the primary objective and the second stage of the economic stabilization plan of July 1985.

The Alignment, however, will have to remind the public of its role in any economic successes. But the public has a tendency to remember only the most recent stages of the long haul. And potential voters are likely to ask themselves why they should stop those presently at the helm in the midst of their successes.

The Alignment will have to emphasize not only Peres's role in curbing inflation but also the fact that the Histadrut under its leadership collaborated all the way with the government in order to stabilize the economy.

Ironically enough, however, the turmoil inside the Histadrut's Hivrat Ovdim is likely to explode in their faces some time in 1988. Koor's mismanagement and Kupat Holim's sickness cannot be solved without massive government assistance. Not to mention such trifling problems as the kibbutzim and moshavim which have been desperately crying out for help for the last two years - without concrete results.

Thus, the Histadrut's co-operation is needed for any comprehensive economic plan. Without it, Nissim's Achilles heel could be exposed at the height of his success. He will find that the Histadrut still has the power to push the worker to nationwide industrial action. It would be a fatal mistake to misjudge the extent of the employees' power as reflected in the IBA's strike.

A package deal would not only benefit the economy; both big parties would ultimately also be the beneficiaries of such an economic accord.



The price of recovery

Avi Temkin

are now barely where they were in 1983.

Moreover, gross salaries average NIS1,100 a month in the public sector. This means that for a very large contingent of workers, monthly net incomes are no more than NIS 800, or even less. These are not unskilled wage earners. Many have academic degrees. There are also many workers earning no more than the minimum wage, between NIS 500 to NIS 600.

For civil service pensioners, the situation is much more desperate. According to the Histadrut, their pensions have been eroded in the past several years by over 20 per cent, and so far, they have received little compensation.

The question is whether this will affect the voting patterns of public sector workers. It seems highly unlikely. Both major parties were responsible for what happened. The Histadrut was a party to the agreements that enabled first Yitzhak Moda'i and later Moshe Nissim, both from the Likud, to keep their wages down. Furthermore, it is possible that these workers will feel that the sense of security afforded them by a much lower rate of inflation is really worth the sacrifice.

Take, for example, workers in the public sector. Their wages had been falling in real terms even before the economic plan was launched. But after July 1, 1985, and during the next six months, they suffered a cut of 25 per cent in their real salaries. While wage erosion was common to all workers, it was much more marked in the public sector. Furthermore, workers in the business sector were able to recoup their losses. By 1986, their salaries had returned to their 1985 levels, and afterwards, continued to go up. But public sector workers' salaries

are now barely where they were in 1983. Moreover, gross salaries average NIS1,100 a month in the public sector. This means that for a very large contingent of workers, monthly net incomes are no more than NIS 800, or even less. These are not unskilled wage earners. Many have academic degrees. There are also many workers earning no more than the minimum wage, between NIS 500 to NIS 600.

Another group affected by the implementation of the economic plan consists of people highly dependent on social services. The cuts left the medical services crippled. Education was affected to the extent

that private education is growing in scope, opening a gap between the quality and quantity of education services going to the well-to-do and the poor. Geriatric services are in crisis. And handicapped persons demonstrated this week against government policy.

But as in the case of the civil servants, it is doubtful if these developments will influence voting patterns. Not only do the Likud and Labour share the responsibility for much of what has happened, but the groups affected are so heterogeneous and in some instances so weak, that any specific political result seems highly unlikely. In some cases, like with the universities, it is also not clear whether the politicians' share of guilt should be larger than the heads of these institutions.

Nevertheless, there will be some political results to this crisis, at least at the personal level. Shoshana Arbelli-Almosino cannot continue as health minister in the next government - at least that is what some of her Labour Party colleagues are saying. But beyond the issue of appointments, there seems little for politicians to fear from the people who have fallen victim to deteriorating social services.

One group whose voting patterns could be affected by recent economic developments is the farmers. For them, the high interest rates set by the Bank of Israel, with the backing of the Treasury, have meant disas-

ter. With the Labour Party trying to bail them out, it might be that these farmers will tend to vote for the Alignment in the next elections. Nevertheless, the overall impact would be very limited. Members of moshavim and kibbutzim voted Labour before the crisis. Therefore, Labour's political gain would be rather limited. Moreover, by defending the farmers, the Alignment could be identified by many voters as the champion of special interests.

Another group which has been paying the price of economic recovery is comprised of those workers who lost their jobs as those firms for which they were working closed down. Many of these enterprises kept themselves going artificially when inflation was running at 400 per cent, by taking new loans to pay off old debts.

Their names are familiar. There was Ata, Soltam, Ron Carmel and many smaller firms. Here, Labour stands to lose. Ata was closed down when Shimon Peres was prime minister. Another group of these failed firms belonged to the Histadrut. In other cases, the labour federation did not do enough to prevent the companies' closure.

Those failures provide Trade and Industry Minister Ariel Sharon with ample material for an onslaught against Peres and his friends. Sharon will probably charge them with being responsible for closing Ata and trying to close Israel Aircraft Industries. But again it is doubtful whether the Likud will gain much politically. Many workers in those firms were traditional Likud voters, so the net benefit will be rather limited.

One can conclude, then, that while the economic stabilization plan caused suffering for certain groups, this will have very little impact on election day. Maybe this is the reason some politicians love the national unity government so much. It will allow them to talk about their successes without fearing the consequences of their failures.

New wage law maintains an old fiction

Jeff Black considers how the minimum-wage law affects workers and the economy

at the top are the ones really enjoying the benefits of the minimum wage. Because of the rise in the minimum wage the average wage has risen, which then boosts the top peoples' salaries."

THE minimum wage specified by the law enacted last April, which affects around 11 per cent of the working population, mainly women at that, is fixed at 45 per cent of the average wage.

At that time, this figure totalled NIS 525. Last month it reached NIS 581.31 in the private sector and NIS 656.31, in the public service. The difference between the two sectors stems from the NIS 75 pay rise awarded to public sector employees in the recent wage accord between the Treasury and the Histadrut.

But the minimum wage is not the only one geared to the average wage. Government ministers, deputy ministers, Knesset members and senior civil servants receive twice-yearly salary adjustments equivalent to the rise in the average wage in the economy. Last month, the members of the Knesset Finance Committee for once presented a common front as they flatly rejected Finance Minister Moshe Nissim's request to delay their 22 per cent salary hike as a result of such an adjustment.

As Aliza Tamir, the head of the women employees' division in the Histadrut, makes clear, "the people

But Tamir, who lobbied hard for the legislation, despite the opposition of the Histadrut's senior leadership, is not satisfied with the present law. Her discontent focuses on what and what is not included in the calculation of the minimum wage.

THE LAW INCLUDES three salary components in its definition of the minimum wage: the basic salary, cost-of-living allowances and permanent additional payments. But alongside these three components, bonuses are also considered part of the minimum wage which, Tamir says, "effectively means that workers have no motivation to increase their productivity as they get no resultant reward."

This was not the law's intention, she holds, but came about because of Likud pressure to veto the bill if bonuses were not calculated as part of the minimum salary. "The law has its achievements," she says, "and if we can take bonuses out of the system, then we really will have achieved something."

The employers, who lobbied just as hard against the law as Tamir did in support of it, warned at that time that if a minimum wage were intro-

duced, this would lead to factories laying off workers and even closing.

This has not happened, says Tamir, although she acknowledges that the law has had some detrimental effects, particularly in the sphere of on-the-job-training. With employers now forced to pay a basic minimum salary, they are less prepared to invest time and money in providing further training for their workers.

BUT A MORE basic opposition to the new law is that it maintains the importance of the average wage, a concept derided by some experts as a fiction.

According to the Central Bureau of Statistics' definition of the average wage, this figure includes not only basic salary but all the gross monthly payments paid to an employee. These include seniority payments, retroactive payments for work done in a previous month, car allowances, overtime, stand-by and extra-duty payments and so on.

In other words, the average wage is made up of a number of payments which are not necessarily part of salary, but additional payment for extra work done. However, this figure is used to calculate the minimum wage of people working a standard working week; before overtime, before seniority increments and so on are paid. In the word of one expert, "These people are getting the benefits of my overtime and my car allowance. The situation is absurd."

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"Roman et autobiographie" ALAIN ROBBE-GRILLET

Thursday, November 26 - FOCUS ON AMERICA
9:30-11:30 a.m. (Belgium) LOCATING THE AMERICAN SELF
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Beduin's bloody code of honour

Israel's desert nomads uphold a strict code of sexual conduct, with tragic results for the women who violate it. Elaine Ruth Fletcher talks to Yosef Ginat, who recently completed a book on the subject.

YUNIS AND Jalila, two young unmarried members of a northern Beduin tribe, were having an affair; even when the relationship became a subject for gossip in the community, the couple continued to meet. There was little hope that they could marry since they belonged to clans with a long history of animosity. Finally, matters were brought to a head. At a family gathering, the girl's uncle told her father that she had brought shame on the family, and walked out before the planned meal began.

That night the members of the girl's clan met and decided to kill her; her eldest brother was appointed to carry out the task.

But Jalila's father knew that something else lay behind the uncle's accusation — a disagreement between the two men over whether to give in to pressure from the authorities to move into a government-recognized settlement some distance away. Jalila's father defied the group's decision and kept his daughter alive.

"THE FATHER chose to protect his daughter, a decision that even 10 years ago would probably have never crossed his mind," says Dr. Yosef Ginat.

Jalila's story is one of dozens of stories of revenge, intrigue, and reconciliation recounted by Ginat in his book, *Blood Disputes Among Beduins and Rural Arabs in Israel*, published this autumn by the University of Pittsburgh Press.

Ginat spent 10 years collecting material for the book, and he writes from a dual perspective, both as an anthropologist and as a senior government official who has spent most of the past decade working with Israeli Arabs. Currently, he is Vice Premier Shimon Peres's adviser on Arab-Israeli Affairs.

Ginat traces how Israeli law and culture are altering the traditional Beduin law of the desert, as well as custom, in the Arab villages of the Triangle and Galilee.

Jalila's story is one such tale of change. As her father formed ties with his employers on a nearby kibbutz, his loyalty to his Beduin clan was weakened. Thus he felt freer to defy the consensus of the group when it decreed that his daughter should be killed.

"When the individual is no longer dependent on the maintaining of a common herd, or on the inheritance of land or animals, it is likely that he will drop some of the customs and attitudes that were prevalent in the time of his earlier economic mode," Ginat writes.

In other cases, Beduin girls who fall pregnant out of wedlock have begun reporting their condition to the police, adds Ginat, in order to prevent their relatives from taking steps against them.

Still, tradition runs deep, and such steps have not always provided



Yosef Ginat (Andre Brutman)

adequate protection. "Family honour" killings — almost always for breaches of the strict sexual code — are still carried out, even if they are staged to look like accidents or suicides.

Ginat recounts the story of a married Beduin woman and her lover who went to the police when they were discovered together by the woman's husband. The police placed the woman with a local sheikh for safety; when her father came to visit, the woman boldly declared that she wanted to marry her lover.

A week later, the woman was found dead in a hut that had been burned down. A post-mortem examination revealed that she had been stabbed twice prior to the "accident."

"The woman, and probably her lover as well, thought that by going to the police they would protect themselves from any dangerous sanction," writes Ginat. "This was to no avail."

ALTHOUGH ISLAM decrees that men and women should be punished equally for illicit sex, Beduin and rural Arab custom generally punishes the woman and lets the man go free. If a marriage can be arranged between the two parties, the woman, too, will escape punishment.

If not, it is the woman's own family — her father, siblings or kin — that is responsible for restoring its lost honour, by killing her. This is because the illicit liaison reflects the

woman's upbringing and thus the "family of origin," says Ginat.

Contrary to common belief, Ginat found that public knowledge of an illicit relationship is not enough to prompt a "family honour" killing. Usually, an "injured party" must make a direct accusation before family members are spurred to action, Ginat says in his book. Once that accusation has been made, family members are generally willing to spend years in prison rather than let their public "shame" continue.

The law in Jordan and other Arab states allows those convicted of family honour killings to serve shorter prison terms. Israeli law offers no such loophole, and those convicted of such a deed receive life imprisonment. Still, most are usually pardoned after 10 or 12 years, said Ginat.

Ginat, himself, was involved in helping to arrange a pardon for a young man who had been falsely convicted of killing his sister, along

with his ill and aging father, who confessed to the act.

Asked whether Ginat felt any pangs of conscience in arranging for the release of the father, who had indeed killed his daughter, Ginat noted that for the innocent son to be received back into his community, the father had to be freed as well.

"They don't kill her because they want to do it," Ginat added. "The father loves his daughter. The brother loves his sister. But he is pushed into a corner."

WHILE A woman's sexual deviations undermine her male relatives' honour and thus demand "punishment" by death, blood revenge is a response to a murder that has already occurred.

"Revenge is, in essence, a rebellion against the shedding of blood; it is a reaction that expresses outrage," writes Ginat.

The decision to take blood revenge, like a "family honour" killing, is not automatic, Ginat con-

tends. Particularly in modern Israel, blood conflicts are increasingly settled by the payment of blood money and a *sulha*, a peace-making ceremony.

In many cases, the decision to take the ultimate step, to kill in revenge, may be the result of family or tribal politics, and clan members jockeying for position. Political rivals may press publicly for punishment or revenge, thus shaming a family or clan into taking drastic action.

Today, blood disputes in rural Arab communities are usually settled through mediation, writes Ginat. In the last two decades a standing *sulha* committee has operated among Galilee Arab villages, while an increased feeling of being settled, has brought about a greater tendency for the Beduin to accept a blood money payment rather than to take revenge.

In the old days, a Beduin could escape the path of an avenger by picking up and moving with his flock. But Beduin professionals and labourers who work regularly in the same place are faced with a dilemma. If they travel to work every day they could be ambushed, and if they stay away they could lose their jobs.

"The wish to keep one's job and the benefits of a regular income are strong reasons to make sure that blood disputes are settled quickly," writes Ginat.

STILL, THE revenge option remains a dynamic in Beduin life.

"The major factor affecting revenge or settlement is the political 'condition' of the avenging group," writes Ginat. "A leader who is anxious to promote cohesiveness within the group will encourage revenge."

The issue of group unity is particularly acute in contemporary times, when Beduin tribe members are increasingly dispersed. Negev Beduin may spend many months of the year working in the north, and return to the traditional encampment only in times of crisis.

A blood dispute, therefore, provides a sheikh or clan leader with the opportunity to gather tribal members for discussions and decisions, thus increasing his own prestige and promoting group bonds.

At the same time, many younger Beduin are chafing under the harness of the Beduin code of group responsibility, said Ginat.

Although individual Beduin cannot voluntarily withdraw from their group, they can be expelled, or "outcast" if their actions are perceived as a threat to the group as a whole.

This "outcasting" of a Beduin troublemaker is taking on a new meaning, Ginat reports. Since 1979, there have been four cases of outcasting and one when it was threatened, compared with only two cases between 1948 and 1979. Ginat argues that outcasting is being deliberately used today, "in an unprecedented fashion" as an overtly political tool for increasing unity.

"Group cohesion is reinforced in such decision-making in much the same way that it is reinforced in cases of revenge," writes Ginat.

The negotiations and discussions that may lead to outcasting, to the settlement of a blood dispute, or to the taking of revenge, are all a focus for intense political activity in Beduin and Arab communities.

Mediation often plays an important role in the process, and Beduin or Arabs who are called in to help settle blood disputes can greatly increase their own power and prestige through the process.

Ginat notes that in one Galilee Beduin settlement, a committee has been established to determine whether disputes should be solved internally or through the state's legal process. The committee represents an alternative designed to prevent Beduin from resorting to purely western methods of litigation. At the same time, it manages to reduce the power and prestige of individual mediators.

Zionism's loyal opposition

Charles Hoffman

ZIONISM IS ALIVE and well in Israel, to judge by the number of groups that have come out of the woodwork recently to take a slap, each in its own way, at the entrenched establishment embodied in the World Zionist Organization.

Zionism in Israel may seem an odd concept, since Zionist ideology is supposed to be what motivates people to pick themselves up from their homes in the Diaspora and make aliya. But several groups that have formed in the past few years argue that there should also be Zionism after aliya, and for those born in Israel too, for that matter.

Telem's full name in English is the Movement for Zionist Fulfillment. It began in the early 1980s in the U.S. as a reaction against the veteran American Zionist leadership who preached support for Israel, but neglected to translate their personal commitment into aliya. It was also a reaction against the Balkanization of the Diaspora aliya movement into minuscule factions organized around political ideologies in Israel that had little to say to most American Jews.

Telem did not grow into a mass movement — its members still number well under a thousand — but it did make good on its pledge for *hagshama*, Zionist fulfillment. Its leaders actually made aliya, set up a national organization based in Jerusalem and attracted some native-born Israelis to its ranks.

For the past several years they have been trying to put into practice their own notion of Zionism after aliya. What has emerged is a form of non-partisan civic activism on behalf of the Jewish people that preserves some of the idealism and rough edges of a Zionist youth movement.

THIS WEEK, the leaders of Telem issued a statement demanding that the World Zionist Organization stop "disfranchising Israeli Zionists" by limiting Israeli participation in the WZO to apparatchiks selected by political parties. Telem called for the adoption of a resolution at the Zionist Congress, to be held early next month, that will require future elections for the Congress to be held in Israel, just as they are held abroad.

The Israeli leadership of the WZO forced its Diaspora members to hold elections for this Congress, but were notably lukewarm about holding elections here.

One Telem activist observed that, "while non-party Diaspora organizations like Hadassah and the Reform and Conservative movements are sending delegates to the Congress, the Israeli delegates are all selected by parties. This leaves no way for non-partisan groups like Telem, immigrant associations or residents of Project Renewal neighbourhoods to interact with the Diaspora through the Zionist movement. We are disenfranchised Zionists."

With typical youth movement *chutzpa*, Telem is considering taking the WZO to court to force it to hold elections in Israel.

These are brave words from Telem, which itself gets a grant from the WZO. But Telem is also supported by the San Francisco federation, which last year threw the fund-raising establishment and WZO into an uproar by taking \$100,000 that would have otherwise gone to the Agency and donating it directly to what can be described as "Israeli causes not tainted by Israeli politics."

ANOTHER IDEALISTIC group that issued a brash statement this week about Zionism in Israel is Temura. This group, which also seeks a renewal of the Zionist movement, is composed of

200 Israelis from various parties, age levels and ideological affiliations, and includes newcomers as well as old-timers.

Temura is planning something of an "off-Broadway" Zionist Congress, to take place in Jerusalem a week before the establishment Zionists convene.

The speakers for this alternative congress include political maverick Arye Eliav, known for his nation-building achievements during the 1950s; Rabbi Shmuel Avidor Hagen, formerly known as the "television rabbi"; former head of the Mossad, Aluf (Res.) Meir Amit; and perennial protester Motti Ashkenazi, the Yom Kippur War commander whose efforts helped bring down the Labour political establishment.

Telem is also part of this group, as are the Israeli Reform movement and various immigrant associations.

Temura said that the Zionist movement should be transformed into a dynamic, independent entity by ending its debilitating dependency on Diaspora philanthropy. Those who call themselves Zionist leaders in the Diaspora should either make aliya after two terms in office, or call it quits. Jewish communities abroad should stop employing *yordim* as teachers in Jewish schools.

Temura spokesman Ofer Pines said that the Zionist movement should support itself with its own fund-raising campaign abroad, and should be separated from the Jewish Agency. If the Diaspora fund-raisers want to keep making donations to Israel through the Agency, he said, they should push it in new directions, so that it is not carrying out tasks that the government should have taken over long ago.

WHILE TELEM and Temura talked this week about new relationships with the Diaspora, 30 leading members of the Israeli Forum were busy cultivating these ties on the scene, at the Council of Jewish Federations convention in Miami.

The Forum is a non-party, volunteer organization to promote Israel-Diaspora relations, formed two years ago with the help of the young leadership of the United Jewish Appeal in the U.S.

The Forum has developed several projects for creating new channels of contact with Diaspora Jewry. Two Forum members who played a key part in this were nominated to receive young leadership awards this week at Miami. They praised Meggi Navon, for her role in project Re'ut, in which Israeli families "adopt" new immigrants; and Arnon Mantver, for his work in Olzma, a programme of a year's service in Israel for college-age Diaspora youth.

The Forum chairman, Ze'ev Bielski, stated recently that the political party basis of the Zionist movement had little to say to most Diaspora Jews, and that new types of linkages should be formed "before the younger generation of Jews in Israel and abroad drift apart."

Forum members include successful business people, professionals, kibbutzniks, academics and public figures. It, too, exudes some of the idealism and enthusiasm of an Israeli youth movement, but without the rough edges one finds in Telem. Funded by dues and contributions from its members, it gets a matching grant from the Agency.

The Forum is sometimes described as an anti-establishment body. Bielski said, however, that "while we do not seek to become part of the Zionist establishment, we will cooperate with anyone who supports our principles and works to improve the Jewish world."

The Forum will host the fourth world conference of Jewish young leadership in Tiberias in January. The 200 participants will discuss subjects relating to the Agenda for the Jewish People in the 1990s.

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IT MAY NOT be popular to say it, but a Likud-led government is to my mind infinitely preferable to another national unity government."

The speaker is Mapam MK Yair Zaban, a feisty 57, whose political odyssey and long years in opposition have given him one of the clearest political messages of any in the Knesset.

That journey of faith, with its endless soul-searching, has taken him from the Scouts to the centre-right; thence to the Palmah and Hahomer Hatzair youth movement; then again to Moshe Sneh's Communist Party; then, via the now-defunct Aoked and Sheli parties, back to Mapam.

It has been a tortuous and at times tortured path, for which he has made several sacrifices — at the behest of the Sneh group following Sneh's death he abandoned a budding academic career at Tel Aviv University — but political friends and foes alike agree that Zaban is one of the best-informed, most hard-working and thoroughly civilized men in the House.

"Labour," he continues, raising his voice to a higher octave than it has at any point in a two-hour interview interrupted by many telephone calls, must realize that there are no short cuts in the fight for "the soul of the nation" for the essential restructuring of our political set-up in Israel.

"Gimmicks won't help," he says. "As for those who try to terrorize

Dvorah Getzler

me by asking 'How can you, of all people, advocate that Labour should leave Likud to go it alone in sole control?' — my answer is simple.

"It's not at me that the finger should be pointed, but at Shimon Peres. And to him, they should say: 'If it is axiomatic for you that the Likud must not be left to rule the country' (which for me is an anti-democratic approach) why didn't the Alignment join the Likud governments of 1977 and 1981? Why did they leave Begin to rule the roost alone then?"

"And you can make out a very plausible case for the good that they could have done had they indeed joined the government: they would have been partners in negotiating the peace with Egypt. They might have been able to prevent the war in Lebanon!"

"But, by the same token, arguing that way leads to a negation of all the institutions of democracy."

"If that's the route we're going to take, you don't need elections, you don't even need the Knesset. And for the next 100 years, those two delightful groups can rule together, unhampered by the people!"

FOR TZABAN, the national unity government, whose establishment wrecked the 17-year-old alliance between Mapai and Mapam, is one of the most serious dangers facing the state, precisely because it appears to be perpetuating and institutionalizing all the deep divisions within our society.

He points to five deep divisions within Israeli society: between Jews and Arabs; between classes; between Ashkenazim and Sephardim; between religious and secular; and between right and left, hawks and doves.

"What's dangerous in all this is the number and severity of the divisions. But most dangerous of all is the way in which they overlap."

"It starts with the overlap of the class and communal divides: 70 per cent of the country's lowest-paid are Sephardim, and 70 per cent of all Jewish blue-collar workers are Sephardim. And the position is not improving."

"An in-depth study of the 1981 elections showed that 70 per cent of the Likud vote was Sephardi. And Labour can't take any comfort from that. The communal homogeneity of the Labour vote was even greater than in Likud — 75 per cent of their electorate were Ashkenazim."

"This sort of overlapping of what the political scientists term cleavages is dangerous in any country. But it's especially dangerous for us."

erous ages

ut as the most egalitarian criticize the Alignment for eroded. But look what says Mapam MK Yair Zaban, the national unity government is facing the state.

wer waving the banner of equality. But it was under his leadership at the gaps between rich and poor began to widen really alarmingly. And under Peres's leadership of the national unity government, Israel came jointly with the U.S., the country showing the widest of all gaps between rich and poor anywhere in the Western world.

"The claim is advanced that the national unity government was set up because we were in an emergency situation. There was no emergency. And even if you suppose there was, you should recall that Israel was established in an emergency, and that situation didn't produce such a government. On the contrary, we've always prided ourselves on having preserved democratic institutions even in emergencies. Oppositions are an essential part of democracy."

"You have to hand it to the current opposition, Tziya included. They have filled an important function. They have reminded the coun-



MK Yair Zaban (Israel Sun)

try that there is an opposition, that there is parliamentary review."

MAPAM, SAYS Zaban, had no choice but to split away when the government was set up.

"We could not have spoken as aggressively against it as we did and then remained inside. We had to ask ourselves how we would have replied to all the arguments against joining — and we couldn't come up with any good answers."

"How could I possibly have a hand in betraying the workers, striking blow after blow at every productive sector in the economy, doing what this government has done to civil rights, to the Arabs of the territories?"

"I don't envy those few in the Labour Party who see things more or less as we do. But for them it was different. Mapai was always their party. That's where their roots are, and they couldn't walk out. All they can do is to fight from within. But we in Mapam had our own home."

Zaban says that Mapam understood that a national unity government would produce a cacophony of voices all saying different things.

He invokes George Orwell's 1984 and its "double speak," scornfully mentioning the so-called Peace for Galilee war of 1982 and its fearful consequences.

TAKING ALL THAT into consideration, Zaban feels more than vindicated that Mapam went into opposition and continued to issue its "clear, dovish, socialist, Zionist message."

This, he says, was neither the luxury it seems to be, nor the political suicide it appears to others. Mapam has had a hard fight since 1984 to rebuild atrophied muscles, but it has learned to walk alone after 17 years of an alliance that caused many to forget that the party had an independent existence.

He rejects the power theory that says a party is an organization that uses its appeal to the voter to come to power. A party has to have its own identity and principles. If it comes to power without the ability to put its principles into effect, then it had better remain in the opposition.

"The perception of power for power's sake is taking an ever firmer hold of the Labour Party," he says. "Being in the opposition, not being in the government, is seen as the ultimate punishment."

He points convincingly to what Mapam has been able to do in the opposition, both by tenacity and by using its political savvy to exploit divisions within the very divided national unity government.

It piloted through the country's first minimum wage law against the will of the government and the industrialists, and even against some initial Histadrut opposition. It pushed for a law against racism and, when that law was changed beyond recognition, is now pushing for an amendment that will ban all job discrimination on racial grounds.

And Mapam succeeded in mounting a filibuster that blocked legislation that would have militated severely against pensioners. Other amendments to the law are in the works on civil service pensioners, on psychiatric hospitalization and the like — all the work of a small opposition party.

TZABAN IS cautious about any future alliance with the Citizens Rights Movement, for whose members he expresses the highest regard. Both parties have put out feelers for a formal association, but nothing has come of it yet, for there is a degree of opposition in both — in the best traditions of the fissionary left all over the world. But some progress may be seen when the election date is announced.

On his most optimistic reckoning — and to a proven track record of accurate forecasting — Zaban believes that whether or not Mapam and the CRM join up, their combined strength in the next Knesset will be a maximum of nine.

Today, they boast 11 — with six from Mapam. But those six are the result of the post-election split from Labour, on whose Alignment list they were assured of places. One of the CRM seats, Yossi Sarid's, also came from Labour; and Mordechai Virshubski, the CRM's most recent and fifth member, came from Shinui.

Zaban may well feel vindicated by Mapam's course. He would repeat his 1984 advice to Peres — there is no sin worse than the national unity government. But ultimately it is for the people to decide, and the hour of the 1988 decision is fast approaching.

Bucking the father of the Nicaraguan Resistance

WASHINGTON. — President Ronald Reagan's efforts to overthrow the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua are in deep trouble. The prospect of the Contra rebels deposing the government in Managua is rather remote.

The president, now entering his final year in office, is having enough trouble merely maintaining some semblance of a unified U.S. policy in Central America. There is disarray even within his own administration.

Three months after Reagan and the Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, Democrat Jim Wright of Texas, announced a bipartisan strategy of working together to bring peace and democracy to Nicaragua, the long-evident divisions between the Republican administration and the Democratic-controlled Congress have dramatically resurfaced.

Only last weekend, Wright and Secretary of State George Shultz were involved in a bitter verbal battle that became public. On Tuesday, former Democratic Party chairman Robert Strauss was called into action to arrange a cease-fire between the Secretary and the Speaker.

Later, Shultz conceded that he had had "a little tiff" with Wright because of the Speaker's decision last week to meet with Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega and Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo in Washington. Ortega had come to the U.S. capital to address the Organization of American States, which is headquartered in Washington.

THE REAGAN administration has refused any direct contact with Ortega until his regime agrees to sit down with Contra representatives in real peace negotiations. Anxious to avoid extending any semblance of political legitimacy to the rebels, Ortega has refused any such contact.

But Wright, clearly determined to play a peacemaking role, was himself prepared to meet with the Nicaraguan leader — and did. The Speaker charged that administration officials were "literally terrorized that peace might break out" in Central America.

In response, Shultz charged that Wright was improperly conducting U.S. foreign policy, usurping the powers of the secretary of state.

Following the Strauss-mediated mediation, Wright and Shultz appeared to paper over their differences. "Neither of us wants to create unnecessary problems," they said in a joint statement. "We want to work together to bring about solutions."

They also expressed hope that the Guatemala City Agreement announced last summer would succeed "in bringing peace and freedom and democracy to Central America." That agreement, which was largely

arranged by Costa Rican President Oscar Arias — this year's Nobel prize winner — was endorsed by the presidents of Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador. But the process of reconciliation is difficult and slow.

The State Department is prepared to give the Arias strategy an opportunity to succeed, but true believers in the White House remain deeply sceptical. They see the scheme as nothing more than a cover for permanent Marxist domination of Nicaragua.

PAT BUCHANAN, the former White House director of communications who now writes a syndicated newspaper column, used to be the administration's point man on this

Wolf Blitzer

issue. Now from the outside, he reflects the prevailing fears of the conservative Republican hardliners in warning of the perils to American national security from the communist menace to the south.

"If the Arias 'peace process' continues to unwind along its current course," Buchanan said, "the almost certain result is that Congress will defund the Contras, and Honduras will be pressured into shutting down the supply lines. Mr. Ortega will then emerge victorious, and Nicaragua will become a colonial outpost of the Soviet Empire."

He added, "The Sandinista tumor is not benign; it is malignant. Nicaragua is not some self-contained dictatorship, of limited duration, whose passing is certain and whose rulers are into power, greed and exploitation. This regime is being built to endure, and its goal is revolution."

Buchanan, whose views are deeply felt among his fellow conservative hardliners, said that in Nicaragua, the U.S. is facing "the Rhineland crisis of 1936."

What the Soviet Union is building in Nicaragua, he charged, "is a scale-model North Vietnam right on the mainland of North America. Once consolidated and secure, that Leninist regime will not be exporting bananas, but exporting subversion and terror — south to Panama and north to El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala and Mexico. The civil war in Nicaragua is not only about the fate of Nicaragua but the future of all of Central America."

But those dire fears are not widely shared in Washington. The mainstream of the Democratic Party leadership — as well as many "pragmatists" in the Republican Party and certainly most of the foreign-policy "professionals" in the State Department — is by no means hysterical over the threats facing the United States.

THE DEMOCRATS in Congress, as well as many moderate Republicans, are convinced that the Arias peace plan has a good chance of success. In any case, they want to give it a chance. They have encouraged Wright to adopt a high-profile peace effort.

"Blessed be the peacemakers, for they shall inherit the earth — that's the Speaker's position and we all agreed," commented Democratic Representative Stephen Solarz of New York, a leading critic of the administration's policies.

Solarz, in an interview with *The Washington Times*, pointed out that numerous Americans had met in recent months with Ortega, including many Republicans. "Bob Dole [the Republican Senate leader] was down there meeting with Ortega," he said. "Jack Kemp [a Republican presidential candidate] was leading 50 people to meet with Ortega. We do it all the time. President Reagan himself is meeting with the chief communist of them all."

Indeed, Shultz himself has publicly pledged to cooperate with the Central American governments in the Arias-led effort. He and Wright, following their meeting on Tuesday, announced a joint statement endorsing the Arias plan. They expressed hope that Cardinal Abando y Bravo, who is widely respected in the U.S., would undertake a "mission of mediation and peace."

EVEN THOUGH the U.S. and Nicaragua continue to maintain full diplomatic relations with each other, it remains clear that Reagan remains extremely reluctant to establish any high-level U.S. contact with Ortega. But in the end, he may have no choice, given the current trends. This was even acknowledged the other day by Buchanan.

"It is malicious and false to suggest that President Reagan, who is, after all, the father of the Nicaraguan Resistance, would ever sell out the Contras; but the president's men blundered terribly in placing their confidence in so slippery a character as the Speaker of the House."

"They failed to understand that no honourable compromise is possible between those who seek a free Nicaragua and those who seek a Contra defeat. The hard truth is that the dominant left wing of the Democratic Party, the Jackson-Kennedy-Dodd wing, is more virulently anti-Contra than anti-communist; and in the war for Nicaragua, the left is the indispensable ally of the Sandinistas."

Reagan and his supporters genuinely fear another Cuba springing up in Nicaragua. They have legitimate concerns. But in this post-Vietnam era, the American public does not appear to have the political stomach necessary to try militarily to uproot that possibility.

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THE PRESIDENTIAL jet stopped exactly at the edge of the red carpet. The pilot silenced the engine, a ladder was attached to the plane and the doors were opened. It seemed as if the whole world held its breath when Anwar Sadat came out, waving to the Israeli welcoming party. He stood there, smiling, the first Arab leader to pay an official visit to Israel, marking the beginning of a new era.

Ten years have passed since that Saturday night at Ben-Gurion Airport. Later, in Jerusalem, Sadat and Menachem Begin met for the first time, and said to each other, "No more war, no more bloodshed." In their first meeting they agreed on the most important issue of them all, that differences of opinion between the two countries should not lead to a renewal of hostilities. A solution could and should be found to any discord and controversy by the negotiating process, aimed at the signing of a peace treaty, in which all relevant disputes would be settled.

Ten years have passed, and peace between Israel and Egypt is a *fait accompli*. The negotiating process was a tough, exhausting experience. The differences of opinion between Sadat and Begin were real and fundamental, and from time to time it even seemed to some observers that the gap was unbridgeable.

Nevertheless both leaders were determined to succeed in the peace efforts. They were encouraged in this direction by U.S. president Jimmy Carter, whose strong commitment to making peace between the sons of Abraham was unprecedented. He was no ordinary broker but rather a mediator who had his own views on the issues in question and did his utmost to have his own fa-

voured solution materialize. That approach had some disadvantages, especially from the Israeli point of view, but nevertheless it served as a catalyst in reaching an agreement.

The combination of personalities was indeed rare: three men: all true believers, whose political positions were rooted in religion and ideology, they disagreed on the ideological basis of the proper solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict, on the rights of each of the parties to the conflict and on the territorial dimensions of the just and lasting settlement to be arranged in the future. But on the other hand, all three were united in the feeling that there was an opportunity which should not be missed. For each of them peace meant a great deal, and achieving it was a major goal. None was prepared to give up the peace hopes, all wanted to give peace a chance.

On this basis they could distinguish in real terms between present and future, necessary and redundant, and between situation and process. Everything that was not absolutely necessary, at least for one of the parties, was left for a future decision.

This process-oriented approach in the course of which positions could be changed, was shared by all three leaders, and was a key to their historically significant success. It was evident as early as November 10, 1977, when Sadat declared his readiness to come to Jerusalem and Begin responded by issuing an invitation. Sadat was cautious enough to define his aim not as making peace with Israel but as restoring the occupied land and saving the lives of Egyptian soldiers. In order to achieve these goals he was ready to come to Jerusalem and speak before

We must distinguish between the vital and the unnecessary

Arye Naor

the Knesset.

Had Begin acted in the same manner Prime Minister Shamir is now responding to peace signals from Amman, he would have answered Sadat with derision.

"This is not a way of making peace but of trying to achieve war objectives without battle, knowing that he has no chance of winning one," Shamir would probably have answered, adding that were the Egyptian president really seeking peace with Israel he would be negotiating ecology and joint ventures, not demanding a withdrawal which could threaten Israel's security.

This is the kind of argument Shamir uses whenever he is asked what he would propose to King Hussein. Should peace negotiations between the two countries be initiated. Fortunately, Begin's response to Sadat was completely different. Looking at the prospects and the risks from a process-oriented perspective, he invited Sadat to Jerusalem. The courageous Egyptian president came here and was warmly welcomed.

WITH THAT visit the Israeli concept of peace underwent a change: no longer a dream, but reality. Once peace was transformed from an abstraction into actuality, it became necessary to distinguish between national aspirations and policy goals in order to formulate a realistic peace plan. In so doing, Israel had to take

into account not only national ideals, but also international realities: not only its own claims, but those of others as well; not only rights to territories, but also the right of the people to enjoy peace and the duty of the leaders to do their utmost to achieve peace. In that light, Begin re-examined the policies of previous governments as well as the political ideology he himself had previously outlined for his party.

Shortly after the Six Day War, the cabinet decided that in return for peace Israel was ready to relinquish the whole of the Sinai peninsula and the Golan Heights, leaving the future of the West Bank - Judea and Samaria - to be determined at a later date.

In the face of negative Arab reaction, that decision was soon changed. Israel evaluated the concept of defensible boundaries, and on the grounds that two wars with Egypt had been waged because of interference with freedom of navigation in the Red Sea, the government decided on a territorial linkage between Israel and Sharm e-Sheikh in the south, and on linking the Yamit area to Israel in the north-eastern sector of the Sinai.

A national consensus developed

not to return those territories to Egypt. Israel built towns and villages there, as well as air bases and army installations, and Moshe Dayan, still the legendary defence minister, summed it up by stating that he would prefer Sharm e-Sheikh without peace to peace without Sharm e-Sheikh.

Very few observers could have anticipated that of all people it would be Begin and Dayan who would revoke all those decisions and pursue a totally different policy: withdraw from Sinai and return to the last grain of sand, to Egypt. The same Moshe Dayan, now Begin's minister of foreign affairs, summed it up in an emotional cabinet meeting: "Now that peace has become a reality, I prefer peace without Sharm e-Sheikh to Sharm e-Sheikh without peace."

From the very beginning of the peace negotiations it was also quite clear that in addition to the restoration of Egyptian sovereignty over the Sinai, Israel had to determine its position with regard to the future of Judea and Samaria, in the context of solving the Palestinian question within the framework of a comprehensive peace.

Prime Yitzhak, there were three alternatives: annexation of the territories to Israel, relinquishing the territories, and a territorial compromise. For Begin and his political party, the first alternative remained an aspira-



was to give the Palestinians the right to elect an administrative council which would handle their daily affairs. During the process of negotiations the idea was broadened: The Camp David Accords describe the administrative council as "a self-governing authority (administrative council)", hinting at a more powerful role for that institution.

Thus, by distinguishing between concrete policy goals which were to be determined in the course of peace negotiations and abstract national aspirations that could be left for future evaluations, Sadat and Begin were able to reach their agreement.

Begin's vision of Eretz Yisrael was very different from Sadat's commitment to Palestinian self-determination. Nevertheless, both of them were dedicated to achieving peace, and Sadat also knew that by achieving peace he would regain the territories his predecessor lost in 1967.

That was the essence of the understanding between the two leaders and this is the lesson that should now be learned from those great days, that by a clever distinction between the vital and the unnecessary, understanding the relative nature of axiomatic concepts and using a broad, process-oriented perspective, differences of opinion are, ultimately, bridgeable.

Looking back 10 years to the visit of President Sadat to Jerusalem and the establishment of peace between Israel and Egypt, one can contemplate the prospects of the peace process with other Arab countries over the coming 10 years with a sense of optimism.

Provided, of course, that the leaders are really determined to give peace a chance.

The chemistry led to a Tehiya explosion

Sarah Honig

ACCORDING TO popular political mythology, during the last election campaign the Tehiya party carved into Likud right-wing support, attracting away five mandates worth of votes. As with most mythology, it is only partially true.

The Tehiya indeed offered a welcome political roof to Jabotinsky disciples who found the Likud diluted by inexperience Liberals and a motley host of opportunists. Also nesting under the same roof were the Rav Kook disciples who found the ideological foundations of their former National Religious Party home too shaky for comfort.

But these were joined by disciples of yet another great political "rabbi" - Berl Katzenelson. These insisted that they had not changed their political spots. In fact, they claim that of all those who carry on in the name of the historic Labour movement, they are the truest bearers of its torch.

It was the others, they say, who veered leftwards until they became indistinguishable in their political thinking from groups much further to the left of the Mafai of old, which was never a dovish party. Being hawks, they had remained true to the teachings of Berl Katzenelson and had not converted to the Revisionist creed, much less seen some vague religious mystical light.

After all, it was Katzenelson who still back in the 1930s admonished his party for concentrating its settlement efforts on the Jezreel Valley. He couldn't understand why it was accorded preference over the Mountains of Ephraim (that is, Samaria, Gush Eumim's favourite settlement target today).

Little more than a decade ago, Shimon Peres, still not Labour Party leader, used to quote Berl Katzenelson's impassioned appeals on behalf of the Mountains of Ephraim. At the time, the Likud was still discounted as a serious contender for power and all significant power struggles were relegated to the internal Labour arena, where Peres wielded the Katzenelson weapon against leftist foes.

If anyone has switched his ideological allegiance, argue Tehiya supporters of Labour origin, it is Peres and the Labour mainstream and not they.

THESE TEHIYA-Labourites are chiefly identified with former chief of general staff Rafael Eitan's Tzomet faction in the Tehiya, but not exclusively so.

No ally of Eitan's, party leader Prof. Yuval Ne'eman, for example, can hardly be accused of any Messianic religiosity or Revisionist affinity. But when Eitan climbed aboard the already fast-rolling Tehiya bandwagon in 1984, he certainly brought with him a contingent of supporters with Labour roots.

Just how this was translated into votes and how many he in fact added to the Tehiya total is still a bone of contention; but it can be safely assumed that he contributed something to the Tehiya growth from a three MK-faction to a five-member one. He cannot be portrayed as a freeloader, who, like some Knesset coat-tail riders, took away a man-

date he did not win in his own right.

Of course, some of this Labour grass-roots, mostly Moshav-movement constituency voted for other right-of-centre tickets. Yigael Hurvitz, who grew up in Nahalal, the moshav next door to Eitan's Tel Adashim, and who may be headed back into the Likud, fielded his Ometz list.

If he does rejoin the Likud, Hurvitz will meet there MK Yigal Cohen, also from Tel Adashim. Significantly, when Eitan packed his personal effects and demonstratively walked out of the Tehiya faction offices in the Knesset a few days ago, he moved into Yigal Cohen's room in the Likud faction's quarters. This may be just a temporary bunking with a mate from the home village or it may indicate a more meaningful and lasting association.

IN ANY CASE, coming down to basics, the question of how great Eitan's contribution to the Tehiya's electoral gains really was, or, in cold political terms, how big a slice of the small Tehiya pie he and his followers are entitled to was of prime importance in the internecine battle that finally split the Tehiya this week. Ideologically, one has to be a master hair-splitter to discern any significant difference between Eitan and the leader of the Tehiya's Revisionist nucleus, Geula Cohen, though of course in ideological parties, left or right, microscopic differences can be magnified a thousandfold by the pedantic scrutiny of the zealots.

Yet much of what Cohen found wrong with Eitan's utterances, and vice versa, could hardly be presented as ideological divergence, but more as incompatibility of personality and temperament.

They would not have made a successful married couple and were mismatched as a political pair. In an emotional party like the Tehiya, their tiffs were easily fanned into full-scale confrontations, which the hapless Ne'eman couldn't, for all his efforts, extinguish. He finally chose Cohen's side, perhaps remembering that she teamed up with him in those early days, or realizing that Eitan's real strength was never really tested at the polls.

For all anyone knows, Ne'eman may have reckoned that Eitan could be more bluster than substance. Maybe the Tehiya was on an upswing anyway in 1984 and would have done well without Eitan in any case.

If that was so, it is not impossible to present Eitan as an interloper with take-over designs, threatening the internal peace and integrity of a comfortably homogeneous party, not unlike what the various birds of different feathers once did to their Democratic Movement for Change nest.

Most of all, Ne'eman perhaps arrived at the realization that while Cohen constitutes no danger to his own position, Eitan is a threat because he might be suffering from the same retired-general syndrome that afflicted Moshe Dayan, Ezer Weizman, Ariel Sharon and many others, who made futile attempts to get control of their parties.

OF COURSE, what many do not realize is that Eitan had his sights on more than control of a fringe party. In fact, he never accepted the Tehiya's diminutive proportions. This, at a time when others were coming to terms with the reality that the Tehiya could never rise above the status of a Likud sidekick. Its growth potential had to all intents and purposes been exhausted. The reservoir of Eretz Yisrael loyalists in the kibbutz and moshav movements had already been largely pumped out, while the Tehiya is now hard put to come up with a convincing issue with which to battle the Likud.

True, the Likud is less pristine pure and more supermarket-like

than ever. But surely its leader, Yitzhak Shamir, is no less resolute than Ne'eman or Cohen. He too opposed the Camp David accords, which triggered the Tehiya's birth. But that 1979 rift in Herut's ranks no longer seems relevant, as Cohen's own son, Tzahi Hanegbi, realized when he returned to the Herut fold.

The Tehiya no longer scares anyone. Its threat to tip the scales and enable Peres to call early elections has lost its bite. Shamir was confident enough to even dare risk agreeing to an "international opening" for negotiations with Jordan. The Arabs played into his hands and refused, leaving the Tehiya with nothing to vociferously denounce.

All the Tehiya can do now is provide a not-so-adulterated ticket to those in the national camp disgusted with the goings-on inside the Likud.

EITAN, THOUGH, had grander visions. While other Tehiya leaders would have been happy to retain their present Knesset strength, and ecstatic if they could gain two more seats, Eitan's Tzomet lieutenants had talked him into accepting their thesis that the party could win as many as 20 seats. At times, Eitan could be heard talking about forming an alternative to the two large parties. He went as far as to exhort the Tehiya to form a shadow government.

All that was standing between him and the coveted goal was Geula Cohen. Success could only be achieved without the odious Revisionists, who put off potential voters in the Labour orbit, it was believed in Tzomet.

For her part, Cohen, not one to turn the other cheek, loudly recommended that Eitan concentrate on mobilizing like-minded Labourites - without her hindrance, but also outside the Tehiya. She wished him luck in providing Labourites with a "patriotic alternative."

To her mind, Eitan could revive the activist Labour movement of old, which would exist alongside, and vie with, her brand of Revisionism of old. That would remove to the outside a battle which had been raging within the Tehiya.

Indeed the Tehiya, as it was until a few days ago, was a microcosm of the Eretz Yisrael of yesteryear, compressed into this party's tiny, bursting-at-the-seams framework. Within it, unable to like or tolerate each other any more than their predecessors could, were the disciples of Berl Katzenelson and Ze'ev Jabotinsky, who by today's standards were not really all that far apart.

Thus Geula and Rafel, championing much the same ideals, were really re-enacting, almost as if by predestined compulsion, the time-honoured feud of their respective mentors, which once tore Eretz Yisrael apart. In their unlikely little arena, they were fighting in miniature the battle between the Labour Movement that-once-was and old-time Revisionism.

Their personal animosities were merely surface manifestations of the lack of chemistry between graduates of two different political schools, which nevertheless imparted to their students very similar lessons.

The writer is a member of the editorial staff of The Jerusalem Post.

ACID TEST

Yosef Goell

draw from all of Sinai and give up its settlements along the Gulf of Eilat and in the Yamit region.

But once that withdrawal was completed in April 1982, the explanation for Egypt's failure to even try to make good on the "normalization" aspects of the treaty became that Egypt was deeply involved in efforts to be restored to her rightful place in the Arab world, from which she had been ejected as an expression of Arab wrath over her breaking the three-decade-old taboo against having any truck with the "Zionist devils."

It was argued that the acceptance of Egypt into the Arab fold would also benefit Israel, since Egypt was making it abundantly clear to the Arabs that she would not abrogate the peace treaty as a price for readmission.

The results and implications of the Arab summit in Amman are still unclear and subject to contradictory interpretations. But the restoration of relations with Egypt by a number of Arab states, which followed in the summit's wake, is an indisputable fact.

MY ASSERTION, that the acid test of Egyptian intentions regarding the irreversibility of peace with Israel, will only begin now, derives from that new situation. Sadat's contention that the Arab world would eventually relent regarding its decision to ostracize Egypt has now been vindicated. But it is far from clear what that vindication will mean for the future of peace between Egypt and Israel, and for a possible extension of that peace into a process gradually incorporating the rest of the Arab world.

A newly self-assured Egypt can either press home the message that a peace based on compromise with Israel is essential for the good of the Arab world, or it can permit itself to be drawn again toward the dominant Arab posture of unrelenting hostility to Israel. The facts on the

ground that Egypt will create from now on will determine which way she goes.

There are those who assert that Israel is being unrealistic in insisting on progress in normalization. What is naive is the Israeli longing to be loved and the expectation that we can compel the Egyptians, too, to love us. Peoples in the world do not love each other.

But normalization is not the repetition of warm sentiments. Rather, normalization is an essential part of the peace treaty because it alone can provide Israel with the signs regarding Egyptian intentions for the future. A formal peace treaty is after all only a piece of paper. Scores of treaties have been abrogated - when the interests of one side or the other dictated it - by signatories who remained hostile to each other.

A formal treaty, however, can also serve as a foundation on which a network of new relations can be woven to undo such basic hostility. Such a network has not been woven during the past eight-and-a-half years, primarily due to Egyptian resistance.

Changing course is not impossible, for Arab-Israeli enmity has not been based on age-old hostility between Jews and Arabs. The Arab world, and Egypt, have legitimate claims on Israel in regard to the territories. Israel, for its part, has a right to be suspicious of an Arab world which has vowed to annihilate her and has given evidence of persisting in that approach.

Mubarak's Egypt can now play a crucial role in seeking to ally those Israeli suspicions. Two immediate, symbolic steps come to mind, Cairo, if it so wills, can behave more humanely and more magnanimously to the bereaved families of the Israelis killed by Egyptian soldiers in Ras Burka; and it can agree to periodic meetings between the leaders of the two countries as an essential mechanism for improving relations and ironing out problems.

To be sure, there are steps that Israel will be called on to take to improve those relations. But the "cold peace" is of Egypt's making, and she must be the one to take the initiative in warming it up now that the excuse of not wanting to undermine her chances of being reaccepted into the Arab fold is no longer valid.

The writer is a member of the editorial staff of The Jerusalem Post.

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TOP ISRAELI officials are issuing new signals that Israel is changing its previously pro-Iranian stance on the Gulf war to a more neutral position.

But it's still unclear whether the government will be willing to actually adopt a more "pro-Iraq" position stance that some argue could bring about a breakthrough in the peace process, and a new understanding with the Arab world "moderates" like Jordan, Egypt and Saudi Arabia.

Only this Wednesday, Vice Premier Shimon Peres delivered one of the strongest signals of a shift in remarks made in the presence of visiting Egyptian statesman Mustafa Khalil, number two man in Egypt's ruling party.

Peres apparently sought to reassure the worried Egyptians that Israel was no longer selling arms to Iran. "There is not a single Israeli I am aware of who could compromise with Khomenei... We cannot tolerate this militancy of hatred and backwardness," Peres declared, adding that Israel's interests in resisting Iran were at one with those of the moderate Arab world.

Earlier in the week, David Kimche, the Foreign Ministry official who, along with Peres, was most closely identified with last year's arms sales to Iran, declared that "maybe the restoration of diplomatic relations between Iraq and Egypt does offer opportunities that did not exist before...."

"If there were a change in the attitude of the Iraqi regime, then we would be very, very pleased to try to reach some sort of peaceful coexistence or full peace with Iraq," he said in an interview with *The Post*. Kimche added that there is a "mistaken belief" in Egypt that Israel is on the Iranian side.

"There has been a considerable amount of psychological warfare carried on in Kuwait newspapers that Israel is continuing to sell arms to Iran. My name has been mentioned in connection with deals trading arms for Jews. Nothing could be further from the truth."

FIGURES WHO have long called for a re-evaluation of Israel's pro-Iranian stance, including Foreign Minister Moshe Shaleh and Foreign Ministry Director-General Avraham Tamir, also have spoken out on the matter this week.

"We can come to a dialogue with every Arab nation, including Iraq," said Tamir in an interview, noting that Egypt offered the ideal territory for direct or indirect contacts with Baghdad.

Tamir stressed that in the aftermath of the Amman summit, the moderate Arab camp, including Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia as well as Iraq, has come to an "understanding" on the peace process that it would be "absurd" for Israel to ignore.

"A key element in Israel's new-found concern with Iraq should be Egypt's leading role as a supporter of Baghdad in the Arab-moderate bloc, which has now restored ties with Cairo, many say."

"A sophisticated Israeli foreign policy would be to let Egypt go back to the Arab world saying, 'See, we have peace with Israel.' We can dis-

Hard decisions between Baghdad and Teheran

Elaine Ruth Fletcher considers the pressures in the establishment towards altering our stance on the Gulf war

Things with them, and they can change," said David Menashri, an expert on Iran at Tel Aviv University's Dayan Centre.

Menashri and a substantial number of other academics have long urged that Israel shift from a "pro-Iran" to a more "pro-Iraq" stance vis-a-vis the Gulf war anyway because Iran's revolutionary ardour is ultimately more dangerous than all of Iraq's weaponry.

EGYPT HAS been applying quiet pressure on Israel over the Gulf for at least two years, and has suggested that Iraq would respond positively to Israeli overtures.

According to one report, President Hosni Mubarak dropped an obvious hint to Shaleh in a meeting in Cairo last November, just before the outbreak of "Intifada."

"You're Iraqi," he told Shaleh in jest, "Let's go to Iraq; you and me, and talk to Saddam Hussein and finish this business."

The issue of Israel's perceived tilt towards Iran was raised again during meetings this week between Khalil and Israeli officials, including Shaleh.

But despite the more pro-Iraq or anti-Iranian note now sounded by certain officials, Menashri is sceptical about whether the government as a whole can, or wants to, achieve a significant breakthrough with Iraq.

"Israel should have discussed and changed its policy five years ago, not today," said Menashri. "Now, while it's not too late, we've already missed the opportunity of taking full advantage of the new possibilities."

While the voices raised in the government in favour of a rethinking of the policy are louder today than they were, they are still not the majority, said Menashri.

"It's Tamir, Shaleh and Ezer Weizman and Abba Eban versus the camp of Shamir, Rabin and other prominent Labour figures. The former are not the government. I doubt the government will adopt a new position because... Labour and Likud are closer to Iran than to Iraq," he said.

Yitzhak Rabin, to the chagrin of Egyptian officials, was quoted by *The Washington Post* as recently as late October as saying that Israel had not changed its "pro-Iranian tilt."

In Labour, the pro-Iranian stance probably stems from a nostalgic memory of warm Israeli-Iranian relations in the days of the shah, which some believe could be revived after

Khomenei's death, said Menashri. In the Likud, the refusal to deal with Iraq stems from a refusal to make the territorial concessions that peace negotiations would imply.

Menashri added, however, that Iraq also hasn't come forward with really dramatic steps declaring Baghdad's new intentions towards Israel.

THE NEW "signals" coming from Iraq have issued largely from the former Iraqi ambassador to the U.S., Nizar Hamdoun, now Iraq's deputy foreign minister. Before leaving his Washington post in August, Hamdoun gave an unprecedented interview to *Near East Report*, affiliated with the American Israel Public Affairs Committee. In the interview he declared that Iraq was "no longer a confrontation state" and that it did not hope for another Arab-Israeli war.

But overtures such as Hamdoun's may in fact have been geared more to cultivating support from the U.S. than to really altering the relationship with Israel.

"Iraq has been talking with two voices," noted Kimche. "There seems to be a sort of increased moderation regarding Israel on the part of government members, like the Foreign Ministry people. On the other hand, within the framework of the [Iraqi] Ba'ath Party, it has continued to be pretty much as anti-Israel as before."

Amatzi Baram, a Haifa University expert on Iraq, agrees that the change may be one of tactics rather than overall strategy with regard to Israel.

"But if you have a choice between radicalism all the way, like Libya, and a radical ideology on which political pragmatism is interposed, I would prefer this kind of duplicity," Baram believes that Israel now has a good opportunity to make new approaches to Iraq.

"The Iraqis are planning another offensive in Basra. The Iraqis are in trouble. They may ask for us to give them some kind of assurances, guarantees that we aren't shipping weapons to Iran. That means a lot to them, because they are very worried about our arms shipments."

WHILE CONVENTIONAL thinking has long dictated that it would be in Israel's best interest for Iraq and Iran to continue slugging it out as long as possible, some in the government are now also asking how much longer the war can continue without seriously threatening the shaky rule

of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein. Says Baram, "We can be sure that Iraq won't win the war. Either there will be a stalemate, or Iraq will collapse and Khomenei will win."

Anyone who replaces Saddam Hussein would represent a greater threat to Israel, notes Yaron Ron, aide to Shaleh and a Middle East expert. Should Hussein be toppled, the government would probably be replaced either by a radical Khomenei-like regime or by Ba'ath party activists closer to Iraq's current rival, Syria. A new Iran-Iraq or Iraq-Syria alliance would be far more threatening to Israel than Iraq alone.

Should Iraq collapse, Baram and Menashri both fear great instability in the Arab and Moslem world, even within Israel.

"There will be a lot of paranoia in the Arab world that will prevent any peace moves," predicted Baram. "We will have a tremendous escalation of radical Islamic activity under our very noses in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and Lebanon, not to speak of radical Moslems in Israel proper."

MEANWHILE, the hope that a pro-Iranian tilt in policy will encourage moderates inside Iran, particularly in the armed forces, is more and more of a fantasy.

"People who think this way don't understand the real change in Iran, because they never understood Iran to start with," said Baram. "Under the shah, the ruling military elite was very friendly to Israel. But if you went one step downward, on the popular and religious level, they were very hostile."

"There were times when I believed Khomenei could be toppled by an army general, an Iranian Napoleon Bonaparte. This hope is diminishing very rapidly. The army is losing its grip. Those little Iranian speedboats shooting at ships in the Gulf are manned by the Revolutionary Guards, not by the regular navy. The Revolutionary Guards are taking over the front."

"Thus, the most religious, the most fundamentalist, the most radical, will become the real power. So when Khomenei dies, you are not left with Napoleon Bonaparte, you are left with Salah-din. Selling arms to Iran would help the radicals, not the moderates. If you had helped Hitler to get to Moscow, would you have been helping the moderates in Germany?"

Rabin, in close questioning this week by the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee, adamantly denied that Israel was selling any more arms to Iran through official channels or agents.

Still, it was only a year ago that the world learned that Israel had secretly furnished arms to Iran, including 2,000 of the most sophisticated anti-tank rockets in the world, the U.S.-made TOW rocket. Those weapons are still in Iran's arsenal, and will be used in the expected offensive against Iraq's second largest city, Basra.

It will take a long time and a sustained diplomatic campaign to undo the memory of that in the minds of moderate Arabs, now firmly aligned with Iraq.

SOCCER Families fight it out

Post Sports Staff

Family battles dominate this weekend's round of National League soccer matches and nowhere more so than at the National Stadium in Ramat Gan. There, the two top-of-the-table teams, Maccabi Netanya and Hapoel Tel Aviv clash tomorrow afternoon. Maccabi are coached by Ze'ev Zeltzer while his father-in-law Yitzhak Schneor is the boss at Hapoel Tel Aviv.

The two men have met before as opposing bosses but never with their teams so prominently placed in the league standings. Although Maccabi are on top of the table and have been playing splendid football all season, their chances of being totally supreme over erratic Hapoel have been hamstrung on two counts.

First because the police have not been satisfied that order can be maintained at the inadequate Netanya ground (and they have good reason to be suspicious following two ugly incidents there earlier this season when too many people wanted to get in to watch key games). They therefore instructed that this week's clash be transferred to bigger premises. The result is that Netanya



Ze'ev Zeltzer

Yitzhak Schneor

lose home advantage but they could benefit from a bigger gate.

The second difficulty is more imposing. Their two stars, Shalom Tikva and Yigal Menachem are both sidelined because of injury so there will be something of a makeshift look about their normally imposing attack. This gives veteran star Oded Machness a big chance to reestablish himself as the striker he was four or five seasons ago.

The other members of a family squaring off are at Bloomfield where Benny Damiel the hard tackling midfielder of Hapoel Holon may be recalled to mark his five-wire brother Gideon the veteran striker of Shimon. That adds

excitement to what could otherwise be a relatively moderate first game in the Bloomfield double header. Betar Jerusalem take centre stage in the later game against hapless Hapoel Lod, still without a victory this season.

Normally Betar would have been confident of a resounding triumph but for the change of venue. They have been playing so far this season, not even this seemingly easy game for them can be considered a foregone conclusion.

This weekend's line-up: (All matches at 14.30 unless otherwise stated.) Maccabi Netanya v Hapoel Tel Aviv (Ramat Gan Stadium); Be'er Yehuda v Maccabi Tel Aviv (Winter stadium); Hapoel Petah Tikva v Be'er Tel Aviv (Petah Tikva); Shimon v Hapoel Holon (Bloomfield); Hapoel Kfar Sava v Maccabi Haifa (Kfar Sava); Be'er Jerusalem v Hapoel Lod (Bloomfield); Hapoel Beersheba v Maccabi Petah Tikva (Beersheba).

TENNIS Falk shocks Fleurian

BY JACK LEON

JAFFA. — Sweden's third seeded Conny Falk yesterday evening reached the singles final of the \$20,000 Frankel ATP satellite-circuit tournament here, beating top-seeded Frenchman Jean-Philippe Fleurian 6-4, 4-6, 7-6(7-4) in a memorable 3½-hour match which would have graced any Super Series Grand Prix.

Twenty-year-old Falk's opponent tomorrow will be Boaz Merenstein, 17, seeded seventh. The up-and-coming young Israeli reached his first final on the pro-tennis tour with a tough 3-6, 6-4, 6-4 victory over gallant West German qualifier Kai Giesker, a newcomer to the circuit who played a total of 10 singles and doubles matches in five hectic days at Jaffa's Israel Tennis Centre

Courts.

Falk — who won the Ashkelon leg of last spring's Frankel series — is currently 264th in the world singles rankings, some 185 places below the charismatic Fleurian. But this gap was hardly in evidence in their titanic semi-final, resplendent with marvellous all-court rallies which linger in the memory.

Fleurian was brilliant and error-prone in turn against a sturdier opponent who gave nothing away and kept his nerve when a late rally by the Frenchman almost robbed Falk of his hard-earned victory.

Uman Berger, seeded first, meets No. 2 seed Pablo Carboni in today's all-Israeli women's final. In yesterday's semi, Berger beat fourth-seeded American Stephanie Rauch 6-0, 6-3, while Carboni conceded only one game to the Hungarian Greta Schmitz — at 14 one of the youngest participants on the Vienna Phillips circuit and competing in the pro-game for the very first time.

The Jaffa meet ends this weekend, with play starting at 2 p.m. today and 11 a.m. tomorrow.

Cash marches into quarter finals

JOHANNESBURG (Reuters) — Wimbledon champion Pat Cash marched confidently into the quarter-finals of the \$315,000 South African Open championships yesterday when he brushed aside American Matt Anger 6-3, 6-2.

The 22-year-old top seed was at his best, racing to victory in just 66 minutes in his second-round match to set up a last eight meeting against Kevin Curren.

Cash, under fire from anti-apartheid groups in his native Australia for playing here, was never threatened by Anger, who won this event in 1985 and was runner-up to Amos Mansdorf last year.

In other second-round matches, Andres Gomez of Ecuador, the No. 2 seed, played cool and controlled tennis to defeat Frenchman Guy Forget 6-3, 6-4.

Curren scored an emphatic 6-4, 6-4 victory over fellow-American Tim Wilkison in their night's upset, young South African Gary Muller shocked the often erratic Hammett and Frenchman Henri Leconte seeded eighth 6-4, 6-4.

Graf crushes Garrison

NEW YORK (Reuters) — Top seeded Steffi Graf predicted that there would be no easy rounds in the \$1 million Virginia Slims Masters championship of women's tennis being contested by the world's top-16 women at Madison Square Garden here. She proved herself wrong, however, when on Wednesday night she crushed a hapless Zina Garrison 6-0, 6-3 in the first round.

World No. 1 Graf, who at times looked bored at the lack of competition from her ninth-ranked American opponent, needed just 48 minutes to roll into the quarter-finals where she faces seventh seeded Helena Sukova of Czechoslovakia.

In another first round match on Wednesday, fourth-seeded American Pam Shriver beat Katerina Maleeva of Bulgaria 6-1, 3-6, 6-3.

EUROPEAN SOCCER

Robson saves United

LONDON (Reuters) — England captain Bryan Robson rescued Manchester United from an undignified English League Cup exit against third division Bury on Wednesday night, spurring them to a 2-1 win.

Oxford United maintained their record of never losing a League Cup tie at the Manor Road ground with a 2-1 win over Watford.

Allen Cook threatened to take the match to a replay when he cancelled out Dean Saunders' early goal for Oxford, but a defensive mistake by Brian Gyle let in his Phillips for the winner in the 75th minute.

Sheffield Wednesday halted their way into the quarter-finals at the expense of second division Aston Villa at Villa Park.

Bradford City and Reading played out a goalless draw and will have to meet again for a place in the quarter-finals.

SCOREBOARD

NBA — Wednesday's games: Atlanta Hawks 95, Golden State Warriors 92; Boston Celtics 111, New York Knicks 109; Philadelphia 76ers 113, Detroit Pistons 109; Chicago Bulls 84, Washington Bullets 82; Dallas Mavericks 97, Los Angeles Clippers 87; Indiana Pacers 117, Denver Nuggets 106; Phoenix Suns 90, Utah Jazz 88; Seattle SuperSonics 120, Portland Trail Blazers 114.

NHL — Wednesday's games: Hartford 9, Buffalo 1; Montreal 5, New York Islanders 2; St. Louis 6, Toronto 3; New Jersey 4, Philadelphia 3; Chicago 5, Minnesota 2; Boston 4, Winnipeg 3; Edmonton 4, Quebec 1.

LOCAL CRICKET

Post Sports Staff

Modern Ashdod qualified in dramatic fashion for tomorrow's final of the Israel Cricket League play-off match when they defeated their local town rivals Young Ashdod by just four runs in the final over of their 50-over game last weekend.

Moderns made 228 all out with Shimon Raj contributing top score of 69 and then bowled out Young Ashdod in the very last over for 224.

Sara Pines with 65 and Nissim Ribad with 49 top scored but their efforts were just not good enough.

Tomorrow's final for the Drudi Shihovitz trophy begins at 9 a.m. at the school ground in Ashdod with Moderns up against Ashdod A.

WITH HANUKKA just around the corner, we were busy last week making budgetary allocations for 15,000 children under foster care and in various institutions.

However, because of today's high prices, the money we have received will not stretch very far in purchasing toys and games for all the children. We are still very far from our goal and are counting on *The Jerusalem Post* readership to ensure that every child receives a gift for Hanukkah.

And don't forget to include a cheque for the Forsake Me Not Fund, so that we can provide basic necessities for the many elderly who cannot afford to do so for themselves.

Send your contributions today to: *The Jerusalem Post Funds*, P.O.B. 81, 91000 Jerusalem.

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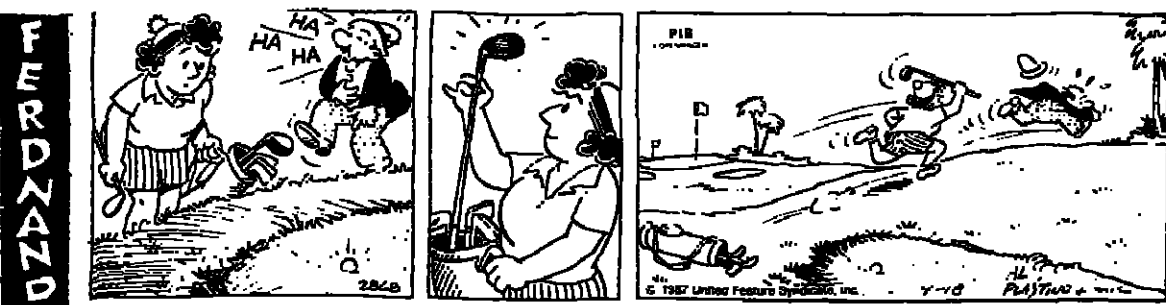
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The Torah portion this week is
Toledot (Genesis 25:19-28:19)

JACOB AND ESAU were twin brothers, yet it would be hard to imagine two more dissimilar types. They were born of the same genes, grew up in the same home (an exemplary home, where love between husband and wife is mentioned for the first time in the Bible); they must have had the same excellent education, as befitting the grandchildren of Abraham and Sarah.

But one of them grows up to be a "cunning hunter, a man of the field," and the other "a quiet man, dwelling in tents" (Genesis 25:27). Both descriptions, notes the 19th century Tora commentator R. Samson Raphael Hirsch, refer to personality traits of the two young men, rather than to their vocations. Neither "a quiet man" nor "a cunning hunter" denotes an occupation.

Tora thus tells us that one cannot attribute one's personality and actions solely to deterministic factors of genes, environment or education. Humans created in the "image of God" are by definition free and not pre-determined beings. They can at times, though not without tremendous efforts, overcome given conditions and circumstances, and shape or re-shape their own personalities and ways of life. This is the secret of the Jewish concept of *teshuva*, "repentance" or "turning," held up as one of the highest values of Judaism. There is "nothing that stands in the way of *teshuva*" — say the rabbis (Jer. Talmud 1,1).

THE TWIN BROTHERS represent contrasting types. Each should have gone his own way, but they seem to be intertwined forever in a constant struggle which prevents them from separating. The struggle, which started while they were still in their mother's womb (25:22), continues throughout the ages and is going on even today: Esau was the father of Edom and of Amalek (Gen., 36:2, 12) two arch-enemies of Jacob, who became Israel.

Following the destruction of the Second Temple and the Bar Kochba revolt (in the first century C.E.), Esau-Edom is identified in Jewish tradition with the Roman Empire.

Eternal struggle

TORA TODAY/ Pinchas H. Peli

Later on, from the time of the Emperor Constantine (the beginning of the fourth century) Esau-Edom is identified with Rome and Christianity, juxtaposed against Jacob-Israel, representing Jerusalem and Judaism. The struggle between the two has never ceased. No attempt, as genuine and as benevolently motivated as it might be, can smooth over this innate opposition.

A personal note may be in place here: This is not said to oppose all dialogue between Jews and Christians. I have personally been involved in such inter-religious meetings in both Jerusalem and Rome. At the same time, I am convinced that the basis and aim of dialogue should not be less than that required by the prophet Zachariah (8:16; 9:19) and which includes both "truth" and "peace." The truth may be painful at times, but no real peace can be achieved without facing it.

Rivers of Jewish blood and oceans of suffering inflicted upon Jews in the name of Christianity still separate between Jews and Christians. "Undoubtedly," wrote the Christian theologian Nicholas Berdyaev, "with regard to Israel, the Christians carry a heavy burden of sin." This is quoted by the late historian Jules Isaac who documented, as did others, Jew and Christian alike, some of the crimes committed in the past.

As to those few Christians who have expressed regret and the sense of *teshuva* (repentance), we know that there is "nothing that stands in the way of *teshuva*." They are indeed a shining light on some of the dark aspects of Christendom.

What has to be made clear at the outset of any dialogue is that Judaism and Christianity are not one and the same, nor did the latter come to supplant the former. The mother must not die for the daughter to live. There are worlds of difference between Judaism and Christianity.

These must not be blurred, but should be demarcated and respected by each side. The sibling rivalry between Jacob and Esau will probably not disappear entirely because of this: an eternal spiritual and intellectual contest will still go on between Jerusalem and Rome. But the dispute turned into dialogue and could eradicate bitter hatred and breed peaceful relations and mutual enrichment.

AFTER YEARS of brooding hatred and threats, Jacob and Esau meet again and embrace each other (ibid., 33:4). (That this kind of meeting is possible was proven not only by the Biblical story of old, but also in our own time by such people as Pope John XXIII). Even then, according to the Biblical story, they do not unite and become one, but each goes his separate way (ibid., 33:10).

Jacob and Esau do indeed meet and make peace with each other. But, alas, those were but fleeting moments. Esau-Edom returns later as a bitter enemy of Israel who also stands by idly, not intervening to help when Israel is destroyed by others (Obadiah, 1). Likewise, Pope John XXIII's term in office was much too short and the meaningful changes wrought by his Vatican II Council much too quickly put aside or forgotten.

History has introduced now a new arena for the encounter between Jacob and Esau. Rabbi J.B. Soloveitchik, the leading contemporary rabbinic authority of Orthodox Judaism, maintains that one of the major historic achievements of the reborn State of Israel, is that it gives a new turn to the Jewish-Christian confrontation.

The return of the Jews to their homeland, maintains Rabbi Soloveitchik (*B'sod ha-Yahid v'Ha-yahad*), brings an end to centuries of Christian triumphalism. The "vanquished synagogue," portrayed in

Christian statuary and iconography as a woman with eyes bandaged and shattered lance — is now, head raised high, back in Jerusalem, where a Jewish police force supervises the holy places of Christianity. This does not justify inverted triumphalism, but must rather influence the encounter between Esau and Jacob which may now take place on a more equal footing.

The recent encounters between some Jewish representatives and the Pontiff in Rome and Miami in the wake of the celebrated acceptance of a prominent Nazi collaborator in the Vatican, were unfortunately no proof of a new sense of restored dignity between Jews and Christians.

One must keep in mind that language plays a significant role in fostering the spirit of mutual understanding. As happens in every tense family situation, words can be loaded with much explosive potential. A metaphor can be used either as a soothing balm or as a lethal arrow. In recent pronouncements regarding Jews by the Vicar of Christ in Rome, he referred to them several times as the "elder brother" of Christendom.

While "elder brother" can be used as a term of respect, it can also be used as a term of condescension. It brought other associations to the minds of some who saw it as a deliberate "double entendre," not necessarily favorable to Jews. This was pointed out recently by Rabbi Wolf Karmel, one of the leaders of the World Jewish Congress and its frequent spokesman on Jewish-Christian relations.

According to the Tora narrative, claims Rabbi Karmel, it is Esau and not Jacob who is the "elder brother," and through his own initiative forgoes the rights as firstborn. Similarly, it is Cain, an "elder brother," who commits the first murder in human history. The long and painful history of the Jewish-Christian encounter requires that we pay extra attention to things which may seem trivial, but may in actuality be of supreme importance.

Rabbi Peli is the Blechner Professor of Jewish thought and literature, Ben Gurion University of the Negev.

RELIGIOUS SERVICES

SHABBAT	BEGINS	ENDS
Jerusalem	4:51 p.m.	5:15 p.m.
Tel Aviv	4:19 p.m.	5:17 p.m.
Haifa	4:09 p.m.	5:14 p.m.
Beer Sheva	4:17 p.m.	5:15 p.m.
Elitzur	4:21 p.m.	5:21 p.m.

Tora portion: Toledot

JERUSALEM

YESHURUN CENTRAL SYNAGOGUE, Fri. Mincha 4:25 p.m. Shabbat, Shabbat 8: Mincha 12:45, 4:05. Seuda Shlishit Mar'ev. 5:15. Blessing the month. Hazan: Asher Hainowitz.

JERUSALEM GREAT SYNAGOGUE, Fri. Mincha 4:25 p.m. Shabbat, Shabbat 8: Mincha 12:45, 4:05. Cantor: Naphthali Herzig and Jerusalem Great Synagogue Choir, conducted by Eli Jaffe.

WORLD COUNCIL OF SYNAGOGUES, Conservative, 4 Agon, Friday, Mincha 4:20. Shabbat, Shabbat 8:30. Dvar Torah: Rabbi Dr. Yosef Green. Hazan: Hana Rutstein. Shabbat Mincha 4:15. Daily minyan: 7 a.m.

HEBREW UNION COLLEGE, Jewish Institute of Religion (Reform), 13 King David St. Sat. 9:30 a.m. Information on college programs: guided tour of campus. Service: 10 a.m.

HAR-EL SYNAGOGUE, (Progressive) 16 Shumel Hagid, Tel. 02-233841. Friday 5:30 p.m. Shabbat morning 4:30, Rabbi Tovah Ben-Horin.

TEL AVIV

TEL AVIV GT. SYNAGOGUE, 110 Allenby Rd. Services conducted by Rabbi Haim Adler, accompanied by choir, conductor, Menashe Levan. Ramban shur by Synagogue President Avraham Hatzum, before Kabbalat Shabbat. Bar-mitzva Amir Haim, son of Dov Beasris Solmeichuk, will be called to the Law. Mincha 4:15. Shabbat 8:00, followed by Kiddush.

CHRISTIAN

JERUSALEM

REDEEMER CHURCH (Lutheran) Maristan Rd. Old City, Jerusalem. Sunday Services: English 9 a.m.; German 10:30 a.m. Tel. 28543, 828401.

CHRIST CHURCH (Anglican) opp. Citadel. 9:30 Family service, 7:00 p.m. Evening service. Bible study, Wednesday, 7:30 p.m.

BAPTIST CONGREGATION, 4 Narkis, West Jerusalem. Sunday services: 9:00 a.m. Bible study, 10:30 a.m. Worship. Tel. 22942.

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ST. PAUL'S (Pentecostal), 32 Shvrit Yehael. 6:30 p.m. Saturday. Tel. 02-717888.

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HAIFA

ELIAS CHURCH (Lutheran) Haifa, 43 Meir Street, Tel. 04-523581. Sat. service 11 a.m.

OTHER CENTRES

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HAIFA

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WHAT'S ON IN HAIFA, dial 04-640840.

ART GUIDE

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JERUSALEM

Museums and Exhibitions

ISRAEL MUSEUM, Traditional Arab Handicrafts (Paley Center) / Hanukkah Lamp Collection (Told House) / "Father Series," Nurit David, / Ilana Gior's recent, original iron furniture designs / Photographs, Boaz Tal. Renaissance themes in contemporary context / Justin Ladda, new work expressly for Israel Museum / Captive Dream, Jerusalem 1987 Special Exhibits: The Priestly Benediction on Silver scrolls / Negev 1987, Magdalena Abakanowicz.

Emphasis, Arish Arach, Michael Gross, Isreal Tarnagor / Tradition and Revolution: The Jewish Renaissance in Russian Avant-Garde Art / Edomite Shrine discoveries from Qumran, Negev / News in Antiquities '87 / Qumran India / Permanent Archaeology, Heritage and Ethnic Art Exhibitions; Shrine of the Book (Dead Sea Scrolls).

Rockefeller (Archaeology) Museum: Crusader Art / Animals in Ancient Art. Check ad in Magazine for visiting hours.

L.A. MAYER MUSEUM FOR ISLAMIC ART. Visiting hours: Sun.-Thurs. 10-1; 3:30-6. Fri. closed. Sat. and holiday evenings.

10-1. Holidays: check with Museum, 2 Hagalimach St., Tel. 02-66129172. Bus No. 15.

OLD YISHUV COURT MUSEUM. Life in the Jewish community in the Old City, mid-19th century-World War II, 6 Or Hahaim, Jewish Quarter, Old City. Sun.-Fri., 9 a.m.-4 p.m.

SW ISAAC AND LADY EDITH WOLFSON MUSEUM at Meleha Shalom. Special Exhibition: Kovno Ghetto, images from Hidden Camera, photographed by Zvi Kadushin. Permanent exhibition of Judaica. Diorama Room: History of Jewish People.

SKIRBALL MUSEUM of Biblical Archaeology of the Hebrew Union College, 13 King David Street, Tel. 203333. Visiting hours: Sun.-Thurs. 10-4. Fri. and Sat. 10-2.

MISHKENOT SHA'ANANIM. Exhibition: Photos in Colour 1937 to 1987, Yoram Haimel Impressions, Nachum Tim Gidal.

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HAIFA

Museums

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HAIFA MUSEUM, 26 Shabbat Levy St., Tel. 523255. Exhibitions: Music and Ethnology: The Art of Porcelain; Modern Art — Prints from the Atelier Mourlot; Paris: Ancient Art — Egyptian textiles, terracotta figurines, Shilman finds. Open: Sun.-Thurs. & Sat. 10-1. Tue. & Sat. also 6-9. Ticket includes admission to National Maritime, Prehistory & Japanese Museum.

OTHER CENTRES

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Ra'anana-Kfar Sava: Kinneret, 119 Weizmann, Kfar Sava.

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Saturday, November 21

Jerusalem: (day) Hadassah Hospital, Mt. Scopus, 818111; (evening) Elison, 10 Yeshayahu, 282753; (day and evening) Beisam, Salah Edin, 272315; Shu'afat, Shu'afat Road, 810108; Dar Aldawa, Herod's Gate, 282058.

Tel Aviv: (day and evening) Baas, 65 Weizmann, 237326; Ziva, 52 Ezel, Hativa neighbourhood, 378403.

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Netanya: Maxim, 2 Salomon, 617836.

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Friday, November 20

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DEFENCE HAS always been a prime consideration in every major decision taken in Israel. Maybe that's why it was so easy to build a large military industrial complex in this country, and relatively easy to muster political support for the investment of national resources in military industrialization.

But proponents of such industrialization always claimed that more than just security was involved. The development of modern weapons involves research and development, the application of skills and the investment of technological resources.

Thus, these proponents say, the military sector could be an ideal leading sector in promoting economic growth.

According to Ariel Halperin, a researcher at the Jerusalem Institute for Israel Research, this issue merits closer scrutiny. He questions the efficiency of R&D investment in the military sector, and the notion that a large military industry will encourage economic growth.

In 1984 Israel spent just over \$1.1 billion on R&D, about 4.8 per cent of its gross national product; almost two-thirds went on military-related

In R&D, guns always win over butter

Avi Temkin

R&D. In proportion to its GNP, Israel's R&D expenditure exceeded that of France six-fold, that of the Great Britain five-fold, and that of the U.S. by a factor of 3.6.

Looking at civilian R&D, an entirely different picture emerges. Israeli expenditure in proportion to the GNP was lower than in most Western countries — 0.65 per cent compared to 1.2 per cent in the U.S. and France, and 2 per cent in West Germany and Japan.

The conclusion one can draw from these figures is that Israel has put almost all its eggs in the military technology basket. Halperin considers the consequences of this development from two different angles. The first regards the efficiency of R&D and the second the risks involved.

MILITARY R&D expenditure in Israel stood at \$750 million in 1984. Hardware sales that year, two-thirds of which were exports, did not exceed \$1,500 million. This means that for every dollar spent on R&D, \$2 were made on sales. In other years, the ratio increased to three dollars worth of sales for every dollar. During these years, Israel's civilian high-tech industries made \$15 in sales for every dollar spent on R&D. Excluding the chemical and pharmaceutical

industries reduces this ratio to around \$7 for every dollar.

These figures tend to support the view that R&D expenditure in the military industries was inefficient. More could have been achieved by investing the same sum in the civilian sector. The relative inefficiency of R&D military spending is the result of a shrink in demand in domestic and foreign markets over the last few years. This resulted in not only overcapacity, but also a decrease in the level of sales per dollar invested in R&D.

Moreover, unlike civilian electronic devices, such as computers, sound systems, or VCRs, there has been a marked trend of price increases in weapons. According to Halperin, when even a slight edge in performance can determine success or failure on the battlefield, there is a tendency to invest heavily in that marginal percentage, and this usually entails rising costs.

The second aspect Halperin considers is the risk involved in developing advanced weapon systems. Technological failure, unforeseen changes in the arena that may render the project irrelevant, or the

sudden disappearance of potential markets are all possibilities.

The development of an anti-ballistic missile would cost the same in Israel as in France or the U.S. R&D expenditure on any single project would be the equivalent in Israel as elsewhere in the West. But the U.S. economy is 150 times larger than Israel's, and the French economy 25 times larger. Israel, by pursuing a doctrine of non-dependence in weapon supplies, is therefore taking a far greater risk per project than any other weapon-producing country.

Take for example the Lavi. No other project was scrutinized more than the Lavi. And yet nobody could be sure, until the very end of the project, whether it would prove to be the right fighter at the right time. Nevertheless, Israel was planning to spend \$6 billion in its development. This is one of the reasons that the Army eventually chose to buy American made F-16s. The Army was reducing the risks to a minimum. It would be buying a known quantity, it would know what it would be getting for each dollar it spent.

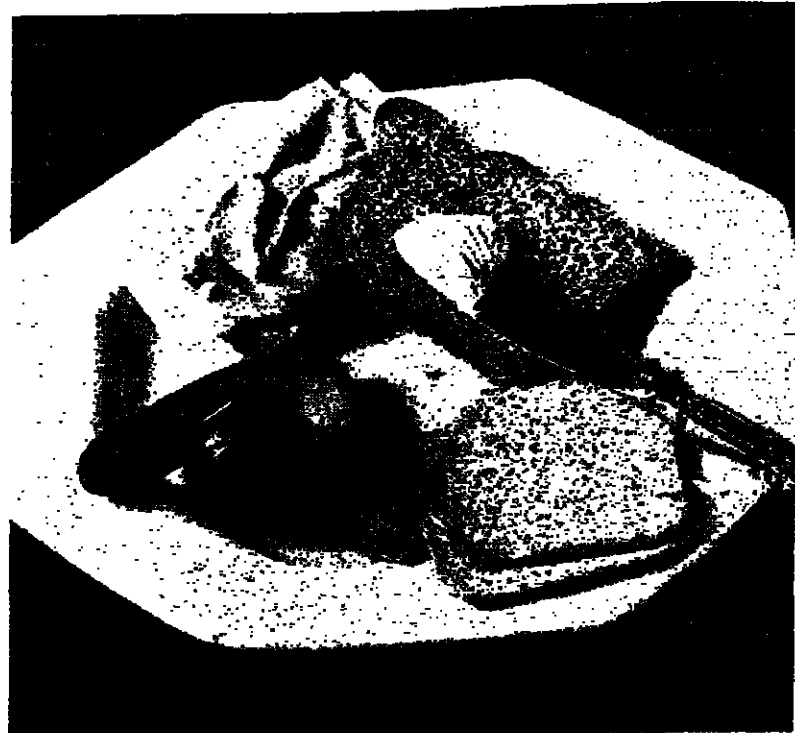
THE DEVELOPMENT of Israel's military industries has thus led to the creation of an inefficient, costly,

and risky sector ridden by overcapacity and unable to find new markets. Instead of becoming a pace-setter by pulling together industry as a whole, the military industrial sector has become a sort of "gravitational well" with an insatiable appetite for new technology. Halperin concludes that for some years now the military industrial sector has caused a downturn in industrial growth rates.

He says that the present situation is at an impasse. Unless a conscious policy to redirect resources to the civilian advanced sector is adopted,

the economy will face a loss of opportunities and a further decline in its growth rates. Halperin says the government should take immediate steps to reduce the size of the military industries. A deliberate policy encouraging proper industrial development should be implemented, he says — one which departs from the doctrine that Israel should have a large military industrial complex. Whether this is politically viable is an entirely different question.

(This is the second of a two-part series)



Why can't the Jewish Agency go out of business?

Special Correspondent

"WE HAVE COME to the conclusion that there is no national, public and Zionist justification for the Jewish Agency to go on holding economic companies whose activity has no link with the Agency's functions." This was stated by attorney Eliahu Lankin, who headed the public committee set up by the Jewish Agency's Board of Trustees in October of last year to recommend a course of action for the Companies Authority.

Lankin, who together with the former director-general of the Government Companies Authority, Ya'acov Salzman; Shmuel Ben-Tovim, an expert in the banking field; and Yisrael Kalmanovitch, an accountant who immigrated from South Africa were requested by the Agency's Board of Trustees to examine the situation of the Agency's subsidiaries and submit recommendations.

A public housing company such as Amigur must be under the Agency's control in the future as well because it helps immigrants with housing. But why should the Agency keep Yakhin-Hakal (the Agency holds 50 per cent of the ownership and control in the company, which deals with cultivation of citrus fields and canned foods industries) whose activity is not in any way linked with Zionist goals?

Attorney Lankin has sent the findings of the report to the heads of the Agency's Board of Trustees, which is due to discuss them at its annual meeting this month. He notes: "Undoubtedly, a public body such as the Agency, which is so heavy and cumbersome, is incapable of running businesses. A situation has been created in which dozens of companies of the Agency,

some of which have their own subsidiaries, have become a burden on it. They do not bring in income, but generally cause expenditure and losses, sometimes very heavy ones."

The director-general of the Agency's Companies Authority, Shlomo Schwarzberg, who formerly served as the personal assistant of the Chairman of the Agency Executive, Aryeh Dutzin, and was catapulted by him to his present job three years ago, admits that in the past "the Agency's economic companies were bodies that played a significant role in the country's economic life. Had this activity been fostered, it could have become an important economic tool aiding the Agency's work. But since the Agency's Board of Trustees decided that companies which do not serve the Agency's aims should be sold, naturally the companies did not develop. New companies were not acquired and like a limb in an attenuated body when it is not developed, so the Agency's companies too weakened."

WHY DOES THE Agency continue to control economic companies after the Board of Trustees has three times adopted clear-cut decisions since 1972 instructing the Companies Authority Council to sell all the companies that do not have a direct link with the Agency's activities? Since the decision was approved, why have only a few of the companies (Rassco, Deco, Pri Hagalil, Prefabricated Houses Enterprises and, more recently, Mabat Furniture and Luchot Hagalil) been sold? Why have most of the companies been sold at a loss, causing a considerable drain on the Agency's cash box?

The Agency's leaders do not have an unequivocal reply. Schwarzberg argues that the Agency must primarily worry about the future of the

workers employed in the companies. For instance, he notes that it was decided to sell Mabat Furniture in Kiryat Gat at one point, but "we continued to operate the extension at Netivot because we were duty-bound to ensure a source of employment for 65 workers. Only when the Rim company, which bought the plant at the end of 1986, undertook to employ the workers for at least a year, did we sell the firm for \$300,000."

Senior sources in the Agency stress: "An absurd situation exists. When the situation of a particular company is relatively good, the Board of Directors and the director-general are justifiably uninterested in selling it. But when the economic situation of a company deteriorates and it falls into grave financial difficulties, it is hard to find a capitalist who will agree to buy it and assure the workers a source of employment."

A STRIKING EXAMPLE of a company that was sold after causing the Agency a huge financial loss was Mabat Furniture. The factories in Kiryat Gat and Netivot were set up to provide sources of employment for the inhabitants, who were mainly new immigrants. In 1981, about 200 workers were employed in the two plants and sales totalled \$4.5 million, including exports of half a million dollars annually.

However, in 1982 the firms got into financial difficulties. The Agency began pouring in money to prevent the collapse of the factories by raising bank loans (at the end of 1982 the Agency's guarantees to the Mabat plants totalled \$600,000); at the same time, negotiations began to sell the enterprise.

Agency leaders decided that the shares of Mabat Furniture would be sold for no less than a million dollars. At the end of 1982 a company was found that was prepared to buy the firm, but the deal fell through. Meanwhile, the situation of the en-

terprise continued to deteriorate. Sales dropped and the cost of financing soared. In 1983, the Agency's treasurer, Akiva Lewinsky, decided to remove Mabat Furniture from the hands of the Companies Authority and appointed a private lawyer to handle it.

He submitted a recovery plan that involved an investment of \$900,000. The Agency provided \$500,000, but the enterprise continued to sink. In October 1984, the Agency Executive authorized Lewinsky to use a sum of \$2 million from the reserves to finance the expenses involved in closing the plant in Kiryat Gat and continuing the operation of the extension at Netivot. But the losses continued.

At the end of 1985, the Board of Trustees' Committee of Assets and Liabilities decided that if a buyer were not found by the end of December that year, the plant must be closed down. An additional budget of \$60,000 was approved for its continued operation. Meanwhile, the enterprise was returned to the responsibility of the Companies Authority and its management to Diyur Laolch (which is also a subsidiary of the Agency). The situation at the plant improved somewhat, but the Agency continued to pour in money. The sum of \$540,000 was transferred from April to October 1986 to cover previous commitments and current losses.

At the same time, efforts to sell the company were resumed. It was only in December of last year that the enterprise was finally sold to Rim. An audit carried out by the Agency's comptroller, Ranana Gutman, showed that the Mabat Furniture undertaking forced the Agency to spend \$4.5 million to cover the company's commitments, severance pay to the employees, closure of the Kiryat Gat factory and current balancing of the operation of the Netivot plant.

The comptroller found many defects in the way the Agency handled

the sale of the factory: "According to Agency policy, the company had been up for sale for a long time, but the only serious effort to sell it made in 1982 did not reach fruition... for a number of years there was no effective management of the company, due to lack of involvement by Agency parties. This may be the reason why the effort to sell failed."

The principal "achievement" in the sale of this failing enterprise was apparently, in the words of the comptroller, "that the sale stopped the flow of losses which the Agency bore for several years."

A public housing company such as Amigur must be kept under the Agency's control ... because it helps immigrants with housing. But why should the Agency keep Yakhin-Hakal those activity is not in any way linked with Zionist goals?

THE AGENCY'S Companies Authority embraces 37 companies whose worth is estimated at around \$500 million. The main companies owned or controlled either wholly or partially by the Agency are:

* Israel Land Development — the Agency holds the founders' shares and 50.5 per cent of the control. Half of its shares are in the public's hands (through the Stock Exchange). It deals in the field of immovable property, real estate, development of industrial structures, renting residential and commercial buildings and maintenance of hotels. The assets of the company are valued at \$130 million. Negotiations are now being conducted for the sale of the founders' shares to a businessman, Ya'acov Nimrod.

plies. They are determined by the minister of agriculture, the water commissioner and the Knesset.

* Amigur — is a public company fully controlled and owned by the Agency. It was established in 1973 to help find housing solutions for immigrants. It deals with the management and maintenance of apartments (about 30,000 in development towns). Its assets are estimated at approximately \$600 million.

Diyur Laolch — is a public company fully controlled and owned by the Agency. It was established in

1953 to carry out construction work and maintenance for Agency institutions. Currently, it deals in building and its annual business turnover totals around \$20 million. It employs about 280 people and its situation is firm.

* The Tel Aviv Development Company — is a public company. The Agency has 59.2 per cent control and 90.7 per cent ownership. It was founded in 1932 and deals with maintenance and management of properties in Tel Aviv, mostly small industrial plants stretching over some 15 acres in the Reading area. The Agency is trying to persuade the Tel Aviv municipality to change the land utilization.

* Societe Cooperative Vinerome — the Agency holds 25 per cent of the shares of the wineries, which include Carmel Mizrahi wineries in Rishon LeZion and Zichron Ya'acov. The annual turnover of the company totals about \$20 million.

* Real Estate Participations — is fully controlled and owned by the Agency. It manages several dozen properties formerly owned by Rassco. Half of the property, which is estimated at \$10 million, belongs to Jewish investors from abroad. It has commercial properties in Jaffa, Ramat Gan, Beersheba and Kiryat Shmona.

* El Al — the national airline. The Agency has 15 per cent of the voting power and two representatives on the Board of Directors. The writer is an expert in Jewish Agency affairs.

The economics pages are edited by The Post economic editor, Shlomo Maoz.

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- Certificates testifying to completion of studies, including academic record transcript.
- At least two references from professors who know the student from his studies.
- Two photographs, exact address and telephone number.
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- Applications should be submitted in English, in two copies.

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Applications should be submitted to: Deputy Director-General for Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Education and Culture, 34 Rehov Shivtei Yisrael, Jerusalem 91811, Tel. 02-278367, 02-278243.

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Applications which do not include all the data requested will not be submitted to the selection committee.

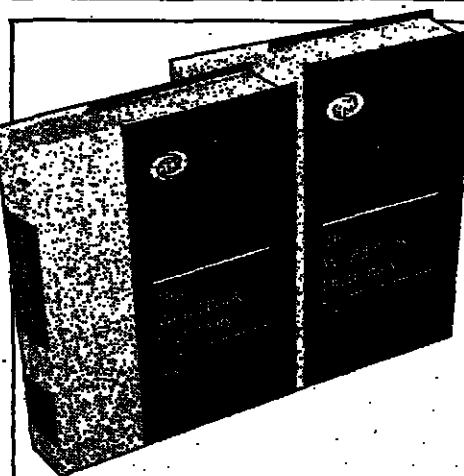
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Elbit wins large U.S. Army order

Post Economic Staff
Elbit Computers Ltd. said yesterday that it had won a competition organized by the U.S. Army to supply it with simulators for its Conduct of Fire Trainer (CofT) programme, which provides training in tank fire-control systems.

The first stage of the contract, to provide 16 simulators, is worth about \$12.5 million, Elbit said. The first of the devices is due to be delivered in the second quarter of 1989. Elbit said a substantial amount of work on the contract would be done by its U.S. subsidiary, Inframetrics Inc.

The company said it expected the Pentagon's CofT programme to be fully implemented within four years.

and if the army opts to go ahead with the full programme, its budget could reach over \$100m.

Elbit, a leading company in tank electronics, navigational flight systems and fire-control systems, developed the fire-control system used in the Merkava tank. It described the CofT programme as a natural expansion of the company's abilities in this area.

The programme enables tank troops to train on simulators that mimic a wide range of battlefield conditions. Originally developed by General Electric, it was enthusiastically received by the U.S. Army, which concluded that it was an important factor in the U.S.'s success in Nato tank competitions.

Diamond supplies cut to prop up prices

By KEN SCHACHTER
RAMAT GAN. The Central Selling Organization of De Beers, in an apparent effort to prop up prices and bolster confidence within the diamond industry, trimmed the worldwide allocation of rough stones by 30 per cent, or approximately 300 million, last week, sources here said.

Israeli "sight holders," who can buy direct from the CSO, are continuing to assess the impact of the curtailment on their allocations.

Seasonal considerations accounted, at least in part, for the curtailment, according to one industry source here. The mid-November allocation in London is the ninth of 10 yearly sights and came after the rush to export for the important U.S. Christmas season, he noted.

But a major sight holder said that he expects the CSO to trim allocations further next month to drive

home the cartel's ability to ensure that surplus rough stones will not drive down the prices of polished diamonds.

There was some concern in the diamond industry that the after-shocks from recent stock market gyrations would depress demand for diamonds. The sight holder, however, discounted rumours of bankruptcies among Hongkong traders and said demand from importers in the U.S., Hongkong and Japan still are running ahead of last year's pace.

Underpinning the continued strong demand for polished stones on foreign markets, the industry and Trade Ministry reported that exports of polished stones for the first two weeks of November reached \$116m, versus \$170m for the entire month a year ago. Exports in 1987 have reached \$1.84 billion, already eclipsing the \$1.6b. exported in all of 1986.

Stevedores' go-slow ends in return for 20 per cent wage rise

By YA'ACOV FRIEDLER
HAIFA. Stevedores at Haifa and Eilat ports yesterday ended their go-slow action after winning a 20 per cent wage rise in return for their efficiency. Ashdod stevedores, however, still maintained the go-slow protest but are expected to return to normal work within the next few days.

The wage rise was hammered out after all-night negotiations Wednesday

between the Histadrut and the Ports Authority. The negotiations followed the heavy fines imposed by the Tel Aviv Labour Court on the stevedores' leaders earlier that evening if they persisted with the strike.

As part of the efficiency agreement, the authority will introduce a night shift for the bulk and container terminals in the ports which in itself will increase output by about one third.

DEVALUATION

(Continued from Page One)

or 50 per cent of that increase.

This new arrangement would lead to an erosion in real wages. Workers would get additional increments at the plant level, but only in those firms which could afford to pay them. It would thus be possible to cut real gross wages in those firms

affected by the drop in the value of the dollar. In addition, medium and low-paid workers would receive increments to their net salaries after the tax reform proposals of the Sheshinsky committee are implemented.

Customs rates are due to go down in January, in accordance with existing treaties between Israel and the EC. There will also be a reduction in purchase taxes. The Treasury and the Industry and Trade Ministry are working on a further reform in purchase taxes, beyond the one carried out last January. This reform will create fewer categories of purchase goods taxes, and in many cases, will entail a reduction in rates.

The Treasury hopes these tax cuts will result in reduced consumer prices, which should offset the rise in the Consumer Price Index following the planned hikes in the prices of basic subsidized goods and in public transportation.

Contrary to past agreements, this time the Bank of Israel would be a part of the package deal accord, which would mean lower interest rates on bank loans and overdrafts. The bank would refrain from setting interest rates, directly, but would agree to lower liquidity requirements on deposits at commercial banks, and this would encourage banks to lower interest rates.

The officials at the Treasury and the Bank of Israel said the ability of the government to keep its deficit down, would determine the chances of implementing such plan.

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Bad olive harvest hits W.Bank

By ANDY COURT

One of the worst olive harvests in the past 20 years will cost Israeli and West Bank farmers some \$60 million in lost olive oil revenue, according to agricultural and civil administration officials.

The situation will particularly hurt farmers and businessmen in the West Bank, where olives play a key role in the local economy. The \$50m. that farmers there are expected to lose represents roughly 10 per cent of the local Gross National Product, a civil administration official noted.

In Israel, farmers will lose an estimated \$10 million, according to the Olive Production and Marketing Board.

The masses of people normally mobilized to help harvest from September through January have not been needed as much this year. Most of the 83 olive presses in Israel and 275 oil presses in the West Bank have shut down for lack of work. Normal-

ly they would be working night and day.

Olive trees are known to have their good years and bad years, but this year far exceeds the trees' normally temperamental trends. During last year's particularly bountiful harvest, West Bank farmers picked 120,000 to 150,000 tons of olives. An average year would yield about 50,000 tons.

But this year farmers will get only about 20,000 tons, according to Azar Artouli, director-general of the Nazareth-based Olive Production and Marketing Board.

Rainstorms in late March and early April are largely responsible for the bad harvest, Artouli said. "The rains and wind came at a time when the trees were flowering," he said. "They destroyed the flowers, and when you don't have flowers, you don't get fruit."

Shortages of olive oil are not expected because plenty is left over

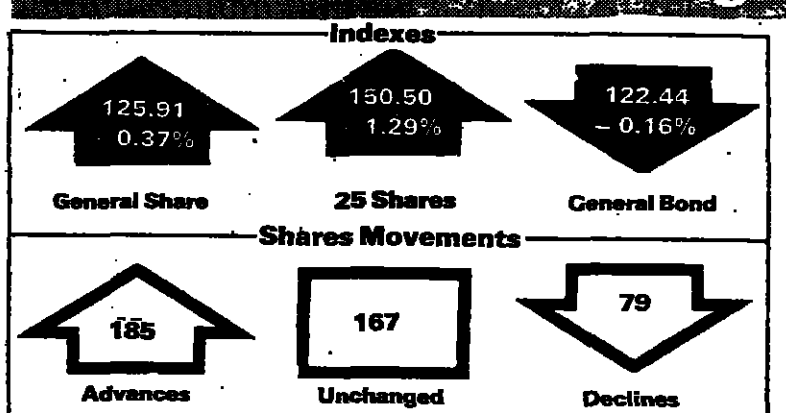
from last year. So much oil was produced last year, in fact, that some farmers have been unable to market it, Artouli said.

The marketing problems stem from the fact that the Jordanian government has not been allowing olive oil exports from the West Bank into its country, and the local market is quite saturated, Artouli said.

For some reason ultra-Orthodox leaders have been lobbying for olive oil imports during the sabbatical (shmita) year instead of buying from Arab farmers, as they do for other crops, he said.

The olive slump is not expected to cause unemployment or a grave economic crisis in the West Bank, the civil administration source said. The farmers have other field and plantation crops they can fall back on. The seasonal pickers and pressers are generally taken from schools or jobs that they can return to if there's no olive-related work, he said.

Tel Aviv Stock Exchange



Selected Prices

Name	Price	Volume	% change
Commercial Banks (not part of arrangement)			
Bank Leumi	2320	20	+2.4
Bank Hapoalim	1805	1902	-0.2
Bank Mizrahi	1800	75	-1.2
Bank Leumi	8800	2216	+1.3

Name	Price	Volume	% change
Commercial Banks (part of arrangement)			
Bank Leumi	10730	176	-
Bank Hapoalim	7880	172	+1.2
Bank Mizrahi	13120	48	-
Bank Leumi	42100	412	+0.3
Bank Hapoalim	80720	382	-
Bank Mizrahi	177300	3	+0.2
Bank Leumi	44340	484	-0.2
Bank Hapoalim	88810	1	-

Name	Price	Volume	% change
Commercial Banks & Finance			
Bank Leumi	8534	221	+1.0
Bank Hapoalim	7880	172	+1.2
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Close to home

PUBLICATION by the U.S. Congress this week of its long-awaited report on the Iran-Contra affair raises in all its severity the nagging question of whether President Reagan will be effectively crippled for his last year in office. The implications are, of course, not simply domestic, but international.

The report stops short of explicitly accusing the President of wilfully violating the law by directing funds to the Contras in defiance of legislation. But that is only because the congressional investigators found no documentary evidence for the charge. Thus, if he did not know, he should have known, they conclude.

The litany of other criticisms against Mr. Reagan over the affair is by now well known, ranging from the disparity between his public pronouncements and his actions regarding Iran and dealing for hostages to the laxity of his control over his subordinates.

To the rest of the world, however, including other democratic countries, the degree of American agitation over this entire affair will remain puzzling. And that is because the venerable system of check and balances enables Congress to exercise prerogatives in foreign policy — especially when it is dominated by the party in opposition to the president — unknown anywhere else.

It is precisely this power of the Congress, that came so heavily to bear on the Reagan administration. Restricting the President where he and some of his top advisers felt most committed — on what they saw as Communist penetration in Central America — policy went deeply underground to detour Congress. It also converged with what was already a profoundly clandestine effort to secure the release of American hostages, including a CIA station chief, held by Iran.

What would have remained largely from public view in any other country, even after some information was leaked, became in Washington the fuel for a ding-dong open battle between Congress and the Presidency fanned as well by the press.

The result is a White House on the defensive, unable to command the authority that leadership of the U.S. and the West so sorely requires. In Mr. Reagan's case this fall is all the more dramatic, since for the first six years of his reign his popularity, at least at home, was unprecedented. But the eclipse of power he has suffered is a fate shared with all his predecessors, dating from the term of Lyndon Johnson.

That process may indicate a certain virility of the American democratic process, but it also betrays systemic weaknesses in the capacity of contemporary American presidents to execute coherent foreign policies capable of eliciting consent in the West and respect in the East.

Such a process may bring joy in Moscow; it can be no cause for relief in the democratic world, including Jerusalem.

As it turns out, Israel was spared some of the expected darts in the Congressional report. Its cooperation with the congressional inquiries gained it praise. But what does emerge is a portrait quite different from the innocence with which Israel's top troika — Shamir, Peres, Rabin — sought to wrap themselves in all that pertains to arms shipments to Iran. Plainly Israel did more than simply respond as a loyal friend to American requests for assistance, as the Israeli public was led to believe.

On the contrary, Israel was purposely pursuing its tilt towards Iran, a policy, which despite the denials, apparently persists in this country. It would be preferable if in this country, too, some potent checks and balances, including an active prime minister, could be summoned, to give that policy, championed especially by the defence minister, the critical scrutiny it deserves.

CARDINAL

(Continued from Page One)

Committee to the International Jewish Committee on Inter-Religious Consultation (IJCIC), yesterday told *The Jerusalem Post* that the cardinal's remarks were "a setback in the process of dialogue."

Wigoder noted that the teaching that there is no salvation outside of the Church has always been a part of Catholic belief, but he added "what is a slap in the face is that this is considered an object of dialogue."

But Wigoder denied a report from the U.S. to the effect that it was the Ratzinger statement that had caused Jewish leaders to postpone a Catholic-Jewish symposium on the Holocaust, which had been scheduled for mid-December.

The Jewish participants, he said, simply felt that they were not sufficiently prepared. "They were not ready, academically. The delay was technically, not politically motivated."

Rabbi David Rosen, the Jerusalem-based director for Inter-Religious Affairs of the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League, described the statement as "unfortunately not

very surprising."

He added that it was yet another indication of the "self-same problem that focuses in the person of the pope himself." Not only does the Vatican tend to speak with many voices, but the pope himself is not always consistent. It would be "shortsighted" to break off contact and "pusillanimous" not to react at all, he said.

"Rather we must strengthen the forces of light in the Church and let them know what we find offensive," Professor Zvi Werblovsky, one of the more outspoken figures involved in interfaith dialogue, said he could not comment directly without seeing Ratzinger's words in their full context.

But he immediately added that "the same way that the Jews, including the chief rabbis, find Christianity to be a form of idolatry, so the pope and Cardinal Ratzinger are entitled to see Judaism as only a preliminary to Christianity."

Local Roman Catholic figures active in Catholic-Jewish dialogue were unwilling to comment on the issue at this time.

Writing on the wall in Gaza

Hirsh Goodman

THE DEFENCE minister and the chief of general staff were quick to come out in support of Aluf Yitzhak Mordechai this week, when the head of Southern Command came under attack from Jewish settlers in the Gaza Strip. The settlers had threatened to cut off all ties with Mordechai, who is responsible for security in the Strip, after the general had accused four settlers of being implicated in the death of a Deir el-Balah schoolgirl, Intesar el-Attar, last week.

The four were subsequently cleared on the basis of a police ballistics report, and on Wednesday a formal *sulha* was arranged by MK Rabbi Haim Druckman. But the root of the dissension between Mordechai and the settlers remains: they want more autonomy in protecting themselves; the army, mindful of the tensions that follow every clash and casualty, wants tighter control.

Defence experts do not expect the situation in the Strip to improve. They also expect tensions between the settlers and the army to escalate in direct proportion to the deterioration of the situation in terms of civil unrest and other recent phenomena that have made it distinctly uncomfortable for Israelis to drive, shop and live in Gaza.

THERE ARE currently 2,500 Jewish settlers — 500 families — living in the Gaza Strip, constituting 0.4 per cent of the population.

Gush Emunim's settlement arm, Amanah, and the Hapoel Hamizrachi movement together control 10 of the 15 settlements in the area, all of which, apart from Kfar Darom, have been established since February 1977. Most of them have been concentrated in the Gush Katif area in southern Gaza.

Neve Dekalim, the regional centre, is the largest, with 190 families and 150 yeshiva students. It contains the regional health, educational and administrative agencies, including the offices of the regional council.

Other settlements have as few as 10 families (Kfar Darom and Nizanit), most about 20 families. Only two, Netzer Hazani and Gedid, have more than 50 families. They are both affiliated with the Moshav Movement.

Israeli settlement is spread over 28,000 dunams — all of it government-controlled land — or about 8 per cent of the Strip's total area. In addition to agriculture and rabbinical studies, the main Jewish occupations, some tourism infrastructure has been established, but with limited success, the situation in the area having kept visitors away.

Present official plans call for 30,000 Jewish settlers in Gaza by the year 1995, bringing the Jewish presence up to 4 per cent of the expected total of 748,000 Gazans. This goal, most planners now concede, is unattainable and the year 2000 has now been set as the new target date. By then, however, the population of the Strip is expected to be around one million, and the Jewish population, even if injected according to plan, will only constitute 3 per cent of the total.

THE SOURCE OF today's tensions, however, is not the size or the strength of the Israeli settlement movement in Gaza, but the very presence of Jews in an environment that has become extremely hostile.

While terrorism has decreased — thanks in no small part to the efforts of the same Yitzhak Mordechai the settlers now want to fire — civil unrest has increased. The security forces have managed, by pre-emptive action, to prevent 98 per cent of all planned terror acts from being carried out; but they have failed to keep students in their classrooms, and have not stopped Molotov cocktails flying, spontaneous roadblocks springing up and rocks being thrown.

Israelis shopping in Gaza's markets, or using the area's cheaper garages, do so at their peril and, indeed, have largely stopped doing so. Even though roads have been built to allow Israeli traffic to by-pass major centres of population, attacks against vehicles have increased dramatically, with settlers now travelling in convoys to avoid trouble, or to enable them to deal with it when it occurs.

The cycle of unrest, from the army's perspective, is perennial: the more Israelis become targets of attack and feel threatened, the more liable they are to take the law into their own hands. The higher the incidence of spontaneous Israeli reaction, especially if casualties are involved, the higher the chances of more unrest.

The best way to avoid tension, the IDF has found, is not to increase its physical presence in Gaza, but to limit it, thereby limiting the number of points of contact and thus, the chances of confrontation. The greater the number of Israelis and Israeli settlements in the area, however, the greater the need for a substantial military presence to protect them, thus multiplying the points of potential friction and, in consequence, making stability in the area less likely.

BY ALL ACCOUNTS, there is not much room for optimism when considering the future of Gaza — with or without Jewish settlement increasing according to plan.

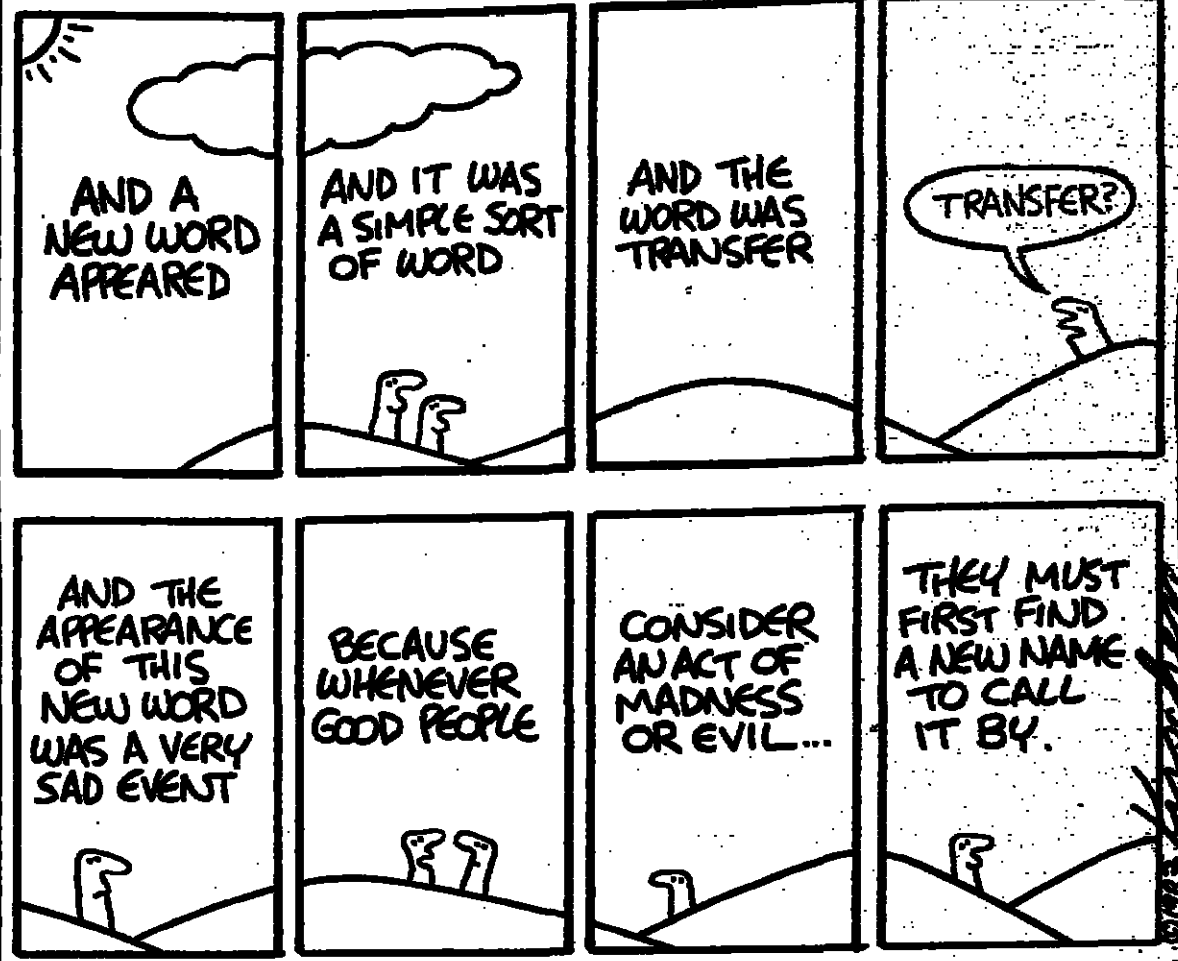
The experts agree that the political instability now prevailing is as much a function of the social, economic and demographic realities in the area as a result of deepening political or religious trends. Gaza already has one of the densest populations on earth — 1,730 people per square kilometre, as opposed to 198 in Israel and 148 in Judea and Samaria — with 48 per cent of all the available land under the plough.

At the end of 1986, 634,000 people were living in the Strip, 182,000 of them living in refugee camps and 59.1 per cent of the entire population under the age of 19.

By the year 2000, the population will be between 957,000 and 1,053,000, of whom 550,000 will be living in the camps. The average family holding will drop from 6.6 square metres at present to 5.8 square metres, and housing density will increase considerably.

According to forecasts, the average standard of living in the Strip will increase slowly, around 1.5 per cent per annum, but the work force will grow beyond the capacity of the area, reaching 162,000 by the year

The Friday Dry Bones



AND THE APPEARANCE OF THIS NEW WORD WAS A VERY SAD EVENT

BECAUSE WHENEVER GOOD PEOPLE

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THEY MUST FIRST FIND A NEW NAME TO CALL IT BY.

2000. This will necessitate the employment of at least 91,000 Gazans in Israel — triple the current number — if unemployment is to be limited to 3,300.

Agricultural land is becoming more scarce, as is water. By the year 2000 the current 175,900 dunams of land allocated for agrarian purposes will drop to 148,000 dunams and the demand for drinking water will outstrip the supply by 37 million cubes.

At current rates of refugee rehabilitation — 615 families a year — the problem will not be solved for 54 years, and this not taking into account the growth of the present refugee population. And while Gaza's non-refugee population will increase by 84,000 families over the next 12 years, only 27,000 new housing units will be built, satisfying only 32 per cent of the demand.

THESE ARE FACTS that are becoming increasingly a topic of debate in the defence establishment, as well as a matter for growing concern among the country's leadership. Even some government ministers from the Likud are privately prepared to question the advisability of large-scale Jewish settlement in a region with the demographic, economic and security prognosis that faces the Gaza Strip.

This week's eruption between the settlers in Gaza and the entire defence establishment is symptomatic of the situation, not an isolated incident. But what has been done cannot be undone, and a way has to be found to protect those people who were sent, with government authority and government funds, to establish a Jewish presence in the Gaza Strip.

Undoubtedly, ways and means can be found for a fruitful dialogue between the army and the settlers that will maximize safety and minimize tension; but no solution will be foolproof, and both sides have to expect that there will be incidents when guns are drawn and shots fired.

But to confine the issue to just the problems currently facing us in Gaza would be foolish and shortsighted. Before committing more people to a situation that "everything indicates will deteriorate from almost every point of view, some serious, bipartisan, thinking has to take place. The writing is on the wall; whether it will be read is another matter.

The writer is the Defence Correspondent of The Jerusalem Post.

READERS' LETTERS

INADVERTENT AND INACCURATE

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post* Sir, — We act for Mr. Gerald Ronson in connection with certain charges which have been preferred against him in the English Courts to which charges he has at all times said he has a complete answer. He has also publicly stated that he has at no time acted dishonourably in regard to these matters, let alone dishonestly.

It has come to our notice and that of our client that in an article published on the front page of your paper on Wednesday 14th October under the heading "Another Jewish millionaire charged in Guinness scandal" the statement is made that

in returning some £5.8m to Guinness our client had noted that he had agreed to what was a "potentially illegal scheme." These inverted commas are reproduced from your article thus indicating that this was an exact quotation of what our client had said or written.

At no time according to our information and instructions has our client, or have we, on his behalf, ever made such a statement which is obviously most damaging.

VICTOR MISHCON & CO
London.
Ed. JP: *The Jerusalem Post* regrets the inadvertent and inaccurate attribution.

TRANSFER

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post* Sir, — Pace Hirsh Goodman (November 13): if "most South African Zionists are making aliyah to San Diego," it is certainly not because Israel may be considering moving the Arabs out. It is much more likely to be because there are so few Arabs in San Diego. A good many sensible people believe that "transfer," which Mr. Goodman does not hesitate to label anti-Jewish, is the one thing that can guarantee aliyah on the scale that Israel needs, as well as reducing, if not halting, yerida.

Professor Daniel J. Elazar in a recent book had the courage to say what everyone knows: "The common wish of virtually all Jews is that the Arabs would simply go away... every other option, no matter which

they choose, is clearly a poor second." Poor second or not, "transfer" is, in the eyes of many, the least painful solution to an otherwise insoluble problem: "...a large alien population, mostly Mohammedan and accustomed for centuries to despise us." Israel Zangwill said that in 1903 and the only difference between then and now is that "alien population" has grown even larger, and its hostility even greater.

Men of the calibre of Michael Dekel, Rehavam Ze'evi and Yosef Shapira, whose integrity no one questions, have come forward to support transfer and show that, simply because someone like Meir Kahane favours an idea, it is not automatically "self-defeating and abhorrent," as Mr. Goodman would have us believe, much less "anti-Jewish."

MICHAEL ASHERI
Petah Tikva.

RADIO LISTINGS

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post* Sir, — Like Philip Gillon, I too am very grateful to the army radio (and incidentally also to the Voice of America) for giving us the news during the present tedious strike. Then, there is also the BBC with its almost hourly news broadcasts which have been enlightening English-speaking listeners regularly and unfailingly for years.

For more than 20 years since my aliyah, I have been delighted by the BBC's manifold, varied, entertaining and informative radio broadcasts. And for more than 20 years, I have wondered why *The Jerusalem Post* does not include these programmes in its entertainment section's radio listings.

ALLEN PAKIN
Jerusalem

PROMOTING TOURISM

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post* Sir, — I am one of the U.S. tourists whose group was bumped from the Ramada Hotel at which we had long ago reserved rooms for our stay, because the Knesset big-wigs needed our space. We got rooms at the Hilton instead, but with no guarantee that we would be able to keep them for our entire stay in Jerusalem.

If Israel is indeed fighting for every tourist it can attract, would it not make more sense for the Knesset people to submit to inconvenience rather than visit it upon the hapless foreign visitor? MAX MASON
Jerusalem (Spring Valley, N.Y.)

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